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TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

ONEIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

AT UTICA,

WITH THE

ANNUAL ADDRESSES AND REPORTS FOR 1881, THE PARIS RE-INTERMENT AND PAPERS READ BEFORE THE SOCIETY.

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1881.

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The Continental Congress:

SOME OF ITS ACTORS AND THEIR DOINGS, WITH THE RESULTS THEREOF.

AN ADDRESS BEFORE THE

ONEIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

AT THEIR ANNUAL MEETING

On the 31st Day of December, 1880.

By William J. Bacon, LL. D.

"*JUVAT ACCEDERE FONTES, ATQUE HAURIRE.*"

THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS.

BY HON. W. J. BACON.

On the 20th day of January, 1775, in the British House of Lords, the illustrious Lord Chatham delivered a very memorable speech. He was the fast friend and the outspoken defender of the struggling Colonists of America in their protracted controversy with the King of Great Britain and his constitutional advisers. He was no longer the great Prime Minister, who had dominated the counsels of the Government with an almost despotic sway. He had descended from power, and had not, as he remarked in his speech "the honor of access to His Majesty." Age also was creeping upon him with its stealthy tread, and a painful malady racked his once stalwart frame with almost unendurable agony.

But neither age nor infirmity could impair the vigor of his intellect, nor quench the bold, and at times, even the defiant spirit with which he uttered his convictions. He vindicated, in the fullest and clearest manner, the right of the Colonists to refuse to be taxed, in the absence of all representation in the National councils, without their consent. "The spirit," said he, "which now resists your taxation in America, is the same which formerly opposed loans, benevolences and ship money in England; the same spirit which called all England on its feet, and by its bill of rights vindicated the English Constitution; the same spirit which established the great, fundamental, essential maxim of your liberties, that *no subject of England shall be taxed but by his own consent.*" On this great principle, and in this cause, the American Colonists, he adds, "are immovably allied; it is the alliance of God and nature, immutable, eternal, fixed as the firmament of Heaven."

The Continental Congress, of whose members, acts, and their consequences I propose to speak, was at this time in session in Philadelphia, and had barely initiated those plans and purposes, which not long afterward, found expression in the great charter of our rights and liberties, the immortal Declaration of Independence. Of this body of patriotic and illustrious men, Lord Chatham, in this speech from which I have quoted, made this memorable declaration. "When your Lordships look at the papers transmitted to us from America; when you consider their decency, firmness

and wisdom, you can not but respect their cause, and wish to make it your own. For myself I must declare and avow, that in all my reading and observation—and it has been my favorite study, I have read Thucydides, and have studied and admired the master States of the world—that for solidity of reasoning, force of sagacity and wisdom of conclusion, under such a complication of difficult circumstances, no nation or body of men can stand in preference to the General Congress assembled at Philadelphia."

Condition of Things Prior to the Congress.

This is high eulogy; and in the mouth of an Englishman, justly proud of the name, and familiar as he was with her grand history, and the great men it had given to the world, it is exalted praise. And yet, after a pretty diligent and faithful study of the characters, the acts and the conclusions of that body of men known to us as the Continental Congress, I hardly dare call it an exaggerated estimate. Many circumstances combined to make the assembling together of these men, and the successful outcome of their deliberations quite remarkable. It was, in many respects a propitious moment for such a gathering. The ominous outlook of affairs in the Old World, the upheavings that were beginning to shake the apparently well settled foundations of ancient abuses; above all the almost universal corruption that tainted and infected public and governmental life in England, and which generated and fostered the wrongs under which the American Colonists suffered, all conduced to bring about a unity of sentiment, resulting in a unity of action that contained within itself the promise and the potency of success.

It is difficult for us to conceive, or rather it would be difficult, had we not had the good fortune to have revealed to us, in recent days, something of the inner life of those times, how universally corruption, dishonor and base-born selfishness pervaded the counsels and the Court of England. Thackeray, in his lectures on the reigns of the Four Georges, who successively occupied the throne of Great Britain, let in upon us many gleams of light from those years that inflicted many undeserved stains upon the English name, and finally tore from the third George the brightest jewel in his crown. But a still more recent work, the Life of Charles James Fox, by Trevelyan, who almost rivals Macaulay in the purity and nervousness of his style, and the incisive power of his invective, has given us a more complete and life-like portrait of

those days when patriotism was at a fearful discount, and purity an unknown equation. "Every man in Parliament," in Walpole's significant phrase, "had his price." But not in Parliament alone was venality and greed the rule of public life. Nepotism was unblushing and universal. A single extract from this admirable book will illustrate this point as clearly as many pages of dry narrative.

"At a time when trade was on so small a scale, that a Lancashire manufacturer considered himself well off on the income which his grandson now gives to his cashier, a Cabinet Minister over and above the ample salary of his office, might reckon confidently upon securing for himself, and for all who belonged to him and who came after him, a permanent maintenance, not dependent upon the vicissitudes of party, which would be regarded as handsome, and even splendid, in these days of visible and all pervading opulence. One nobleman had eight thousand a year in sinecures. Another an Auditor of the Exchequer, inside which he never looked, had eight thousand pounds in peace and twenty thousand in war, and still another bowed and whispered himself into four great employments, from which flowed, month by month, fourteen hundred guineas into the lap of his Parisian mistress."

A reversion to an office was reckoned upon as a good investment, sure to come to hand in due time, and as our author sharply and keenly puts it, "a paymaster of the works, or an auditor of the plantations, with plenty of money to buy good liquor, and plenty of time to drink it, did not live forever, and a next appointment to the civil service, in the last century, might be discounted as freely as a next presentation to a living in our own."

With the remarkable fact that the occupant of the throne, unlike some of his immediate predecessors, was pure and faithful in his domestic life, the morals of the Court were fearfully corrupt, and, in some respects, (not indeed quite as open and shameless,) resembled those of the infamous Charles the Second. The Earl of Sandwich, high in office, and trusted by his sovereign with great responsibilities, may serve as a type of many more "who carried undisguised and unabashed libertinism to the verge of a tomb," which did not close upon him until he had spent nearly half a century in office.

The bearing which these things which I have faintly outlined, have upon the condition of affairs in America, is easily seen. To secure and maintain these princely resources, plunder of all sorts and in all available places, was of course practiced. Ireland, unhappy, misgoverned Ireland had been ravaged and plucked until but little was left for avarice to covet, or greed to secure; and thus it

was that attention was turned to America, as to "fresh woods and pastures new," where an ample field was opened for these plunderers of a Nation's wealth, to enhance their own ill-gotten gains. Trevelyan very distinctly leads us to the conclusion that it was England, governed and controlled as she was, by sinecurists, pampered menials in office, and unblushing robbers that lost to Great Britain an empire in America, and with the following passage, I close this page of a history full of instruction in regard to the condition of the Mother Country and the American Colonies, at that special crisis that called the Continental Congress into being.

"When Britain had been drained dry, and there was nothing more to be squeezed from Ireland, Ministers, in an evil hour for themselves, remembered that there were two millions of Englishmen in America, who had struggled through the difficulties and hardships which beset the pioneers of civilization, and who, now that their daily bread was assured to them, could afford the luxury of maintaining an army of sinecurists. The suggestion can not be said to have originated on the other side of the Atlantic. 'It was not,' said Junius, 'Virginia that wanted a Governor, but a court favorite that wanted a salary.' Virginia, however, and her sister colonies, were not supposed to know what was best for their own interests, or, at any rate, for the interests of their masters; and plenty of gentlemen were soon drinking their claret and paying their debts out of the savings of the fishermen of New Hampshire, and the farmers of New Jersey, and talking, with that perversion of sentiment which is the inevitable outgrowth of privilege, about the 'cruelty' of a Secretary of State, who hinted that they would do well to show themselves occasionally among the people whose substance they devoured. And yet, in most cases, it was fortunate for America that her placemen had not enough public spirit to make them ashamed of being absentees. Such was the private character of many among her official staff, that their room was cheaply purchased by the money which they spent outside the country. The best things in the colonies generally fell to bankrupt members of Parliament, who were as poor in political principle as in worldly goods; and the smaller posts were regarded as their special inheritance, by the riffraff of the election committee room, and the bad bargains of the servants' hall."

Nothing need be added to enforce the vividness of this description, except to recall, at this point, one of the counts in that indictment of the King of Great Britain, penned by Jefferson, in the Declaration, and thus forcibly and truly expressed: "He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers to harrass our people, and eat out their substance." Against such exactions, enforced by such a tribe of needy advent-

urers and remorseless harpies, our fathers faithfully remonstrated, and, at length, most justly rebelled.

The Origin of the Proposed Congress.

It would perhaps be a difficult matter to ascertain, as it would be unprofitable to inquire in whose brain originated the conception of the Continental Congress. Such inquiries usually end where the equally unprofitable and unsolved problem has always terminated, that is in entire uncertainty, whether the thunderous appeals of Patrick Henry at the south, or the lightning coruscations of James Otis at the north, did most to fire the national heart, and combine and consolidate the national sentiment.

As a matter of pretty universal acknowledgment, the two Colonies that led in the actual and forcible movement towards resistance, were Virginia and Massachusetts. When the first blood was shed in the conflict of arms on the soil of Lexington, Virginia responded to the call for aid and sympathy, by the clarion voice of Henry and the cordial co-operation of her leading men, and throughout all the subsequent years of struggling hope and despondency, they seem never to have been separated either in harmony of sentiment or unity of action. It may, I think, be fairly claimed that the first suggestion of a Council of the Colonies for consultation in regard to the wrongs they suffered, and what remedies were appropriate to the case, was made in a letter from the patriotic merchants of New York, addressed to the General Court in Massachusetts, and asking that body to take the lead in a movement designed to bring the Colonies together for mutual counsel and concerted action. As a matter of historical record, it is true that the first legislative resolution which suggested and recommended the assembling of and actually appointed delegates to a General Council or Congress for mutual consultation, and combined action by the Colonists, passed the House of Representatives of Massachusetts on the 17th of June, 1774, the very day which just one year thereafter, and ever since has been made memorable by the battle of Bunker Hill. This is the first resolution passed by any of the Colonial Legislative bodies, recommending such a convocation to be held on the 1st day of September, thereafter, at the City of Philadelphia, or such other place as should be deemed most suitable, and appointing delegates to represent that Colony in the proposed Congress, among whom appeared the subsequently greatly distinguished names of John and Samuel Adams.

The Time and Place of Assembling.

The other Colonies followed in rapid succession, until on the 2d day of August, 1774, by a resolution passed by the House of Assembly of South Carolina, eleven Colonies had taken the necessary action and appointed delegates to meet, as had been recommended by Massachusetts, in Philadelphia. The delegates from these eleven Colonies assembled at Carpenter's Hall, in the City of Philadelphia, on the 5th day of September, 1774. The delegates from North Carolina appeared on the 14th day of that month, while those from Georgia were not appointed until July of the following year, and soon thereafter appeared, and from that time the representatives of the Thirteen Colonies continued, by changes and renewals until its final dissolution.

At the first roll call on the 5th of September, 1774, forty-three delegates answered to their names. Some of them had already become conspicuous for the part they had taken in the controversies with the mother country, and the provincial authorities, and some afterwards obtained immortal renown. This is not the place, nor will the necessary limitations of this discourse permit an enumeration of these men, nor allow me to rehearse their varied and acknowledged claims to distinction. It must suffice, now, to say that Massachusetts, besides the Adams' already mentioned, was represented also by the not obscure names of Thomas Cushing and Robert Treat Paine. From Connecticut came the sturdy patriot Roger Sherman. New York presented, among others, the illustrious name of John Jay and Gen. William Floyd, a gallant soldier as well as an experienced civilian, and whose name and fame is cherished as one to which our own County of Oneida is fairly entitled. Delaware appeared in the person of Cæzar Rodney, South Carolina in those of Henry Middleton and Edward Rutledge, while Virginia indicated her power and pre-eminence in what were then, and ever will be, the distinguished names of George Washington, Peyton Randolph, Patrick Henry, and Edmund Pendleton. Many men still more eminent afterwards appeared as members of the Congress. The first act was the election of a President, and the choice fell unanimously upon Peyton Randolph. His was a distinguished Virginia name, and of it he was a worthy representative. He held the position until declining health, followed by his death in May, 1775, compelled his resignation. But for this, his name, instead of the bold signa-

ture of John Hancock would have headed the roll of patriotic men that in the following year signed the immortal Declaration of Independence. This election, and that of a Secretary, with the presentation of credentials terminated the meeting of the first day, and the second was devoted to the preparation and passage of some needful rules of order, and a request that on the following day, the 7th of September, when the serious work of Congress was to begin, the session be opened with prayer by the Rev. Mr. Duche.

And here, prefacing it with the remark that I heartily dislike the whole tribe of iconoclasts, from Niebuhr down, who seem to take a grim delight in dissipating our faith in all the innocent and cherished traditions of our childhood and manhood as well, from the apple of William Tell to the hatchet of George Washington, the truth of history and regard for the pious memory of our fathers, seems to require me to correct a popular superstition which has obtained great currency, and secured large credence. The tradition tells us that no prayer had ever been heard in Congress, until after many months of anxious debate, when no conclusion having been reached, Dr. Franklin suggested that they should look for Divine guidance, and proposed that prayer should be offered by the reverend man already named. Unfortunately for the truth of this story, Dr. Franklin, when the Congress assembled, was in England, and did not appear as a delegate until the month of May, 1775. And the record, both of the request and of the prayer offered on the morning of the 7th of September, 1774, appear upon the Journal of the Congress, together with the resolution at once offered and passed, that the thanks of Congress be presented to Rev. Mr. Duche, "for the excellent prayer which he composed and delivered on that occasion."

It is meet that this record be reproduced, that we may be reminded of the piety and devotion of our fathers. It can be truthfully said of them that they were a race of earnest and God-fearing men, who believed profoundly that there was a Supreme "Divinity that shaped our ends," an Almighty Sovereign that ruled not only in the armies of Heaven but among the inhabitants of the earth, to whom devout thanksgivings were to be rendered when success crowned our arms, and before whom the people were to humble themselves when disaster came or impended. The Journals of the Congress record not less than ten occasions during their deliberations, when days of fasting alternating with days of thanksgiving were ordered by the Congress. The last

occasion for the latter was when, on the 24th of October, 1781, the glorious news came of the surrender of Cornwallis, when, as the Journal tells us, the whole Congress went in procession to the Dutch Lutheran Church "to return thanks to Almighty God for crowning the allied armies of the United States and France with success, by the surrender of the whole British army under the command of the Earl Cornwallis." And on the following day they issued a proclamation setting apart the 15th day of December, thereafter, to be observed by all the people as a day of thanksgiving and prayer for this memorable and crowning victory. Our revolutionary fathers did not fail to recognize and adore the "mighty hand and the outstretched arm," that was ever over and around them. May the day never come in all our future history when the sons shall forget their devout gratitude, or fail to imitate their heroic faith.

The Initial Steps.

I do not propose to follow the proceedings of the Congress in its daily or even yearly details. The Journal is in itself but a naked narrative of the resolutions offered and passed, and a record in full of the public documents prepared for and adopted by the Congress. I can only mention, as especially memorable, among the earliest proceedings, the two addresses, one to the people and the other to the King of Great Britain. The first is well known to have been the production of the illustrious New Yorker, John Jay. There are few brighter or purer names than his connected with our Colonial or National history. The family of Jay came from France, and was of Huguenot origin, and better blood than this never perhaps has coursed through mortal veins. And that blood still remains with us in living representatives, with its honor untarnished and its purity unstained. This address was one of remarkable power and shadowed forth some of these grievances, which subsequently were so powerfully presented in the declaration. These were among the documents that called forth the admiration of Lord Chatham, but their weighty and ominous words fell upon ears unwilling to listen, and impatient of disturbance in their schemes of outrage and plunder, and so outrage and plunder went on to their legitimate end, resistance, war and successful revolution.

The Appointment of Washington.

The time had now fully arrived when it was necessary that the army, which had been hastily gathered, should have a systematic organization, and, over and above all, a competent leader, and to this the attention of Congress was anxiously and even painfully directed. Local jealousies and rivalries, had to some extent already been developed, and it was needful, above all things, that the choice should fall upon one who could command the confidence of the country, as well as of the army. It so happened that the Senior Major General, then in the service, was Artemus Ward, of Massachusetts. He had attained some position, and stood fairly, as a patriot and a soldier, and if priority of rank was to be deemed controlling, he had a well founded claim to consideration. A day was assigned by Congress for action on this matter, and on the 15th of June, 1775, they proceeded to execute the order. The record in the journal, is simply this: "The Congress proceeded to the choice of a General, by ballot, and George Washington, Esq., was unanimously elected." Only this, and nothing more is recorded. But much more than this, we may be well assured, preceded and accompanied so notable an event.

It is greatly to be regretted that we possess no authentic report of the debates of this assembly of remarkable and memorable men. They would be much better and more profitable reading than "Congressional Records," that now make their annual appearance in voluminous quartos, and occupy, if they do not adorn our shelves. But in those days, there were no stenographers, no reporters, nor any of the tribe of interviewers that are now perpetually dogging the footsteps and extracting the secrets of our great men. What we know outside of the record, is to be gathered from contemporary correspondence, and the private memoranda of the men of that day, and well authenticated tradition. From some, or all of these sources, I am aware that it is claimed that the motion which preceded the action of Congress, was made by a delegate from the State of Maryland. By other authorities, it is asserted that the motion was made by John Adams, of Massachusetts. But whether or not he took the initiative in this matter, it is certain, from descriptions given by men who were present, and heard the debate, that if he did not move, he promptly seconded the motion, and supported it by what was the leading and controlling speech of the occasion. We can imagine the interest with which he was regarded, in rising to address the Congress, and the

eager curiosity with which the members hung upon his words. It might well have been supposed, that as a Massachusetts man, he would naturally have been inclined to name their own Senior Major General, as the man for the position. He proceeded, in well set and carefully considered words, to set forth what he conceived to be the qualifications of the man to whom was to be confided so great and momentous a trust, and ended by saying, that in his opinion, all these qualifications were fully met in the person of George Washington, of Virginia, whom he cordially supported as Commander-in-Chief of the American armies. What a happy surprise, and what a perfect solution of the great problem, this must have seemed to many anxious hearts, and we can almost imagine that even that grave and solemn assembly burst, involuntarily, into a shout of glad acclaim, when the name of Washington was pronounced.

It was, beyond all question, a wise and happy choice. Washington was the man for the hour, as clearly raised up,—by that Providence which equally heeds the falling sparrow and the overthrow of an empire,—for the exigent moment that called for him, as Lincoln was, for the next most momentous and trying crisis in our history. The claim of Washington to be placed high up on the roll of the great men of the world, has been the subject of much discussion, and his precise position may not even yet be clearly defined. Some things may well be received as established beyond controversy. That he was a prudent, sagacious, and with the means he had at command, a skillful General, can not fairly be denied, that he was, in counsel, wise, self-contained and conservative, and in administration, pure, just and fearless, will assuredly be conceded. To talk of him as a soldier, compared with Napoleon, is one of those questions that school-boys may debate, but grown men will not entertain. When we speak of great men, purely in the light of intellect and achievement, we are obliged to acknowledge, that in force of towering intellect, mastery of men, and extent and splendor of accomplishment, Napoleon was "the foremost man of all this world." But on the other hand, we are equally compelled to the admission that with all these claims to supremacy, Napoleon had striking weaknesses developed in those unguarded hours when selfishness, unrestrained passion and unbridled ambition, unchecked by any moral restraints or influences, took full possession and control of his baser nature. Washington had no such weaknesses, and if there was the element of passion in his composition, he held it under wise and dignified control, and

was (antagonizing the aphorism of Napoleon) as much a hero to his valet, as he was when standing in the full blaze of the public eye.

As a general summing up of the character of Washington, we may well accept the testimony of Daniel Webster, as a competent and trustworthy witness. I quote his own well considered words:

"The character of Washington is a fixed star in the firmament of great names, shining without twinkling or obscurity, with clear, steady and beneficent light. If we think of our independence, we think of him whose efforts were so prominent in achieving it. If we think of the Constitution which is over us, we think of him who did so much to establish it, and whose administration of its powers is acknowledged to be a model for his successors. If we think of glory in the field, of wisdom in the Cabinet, of the purest patriotism, of the highest integrity, of religious feeling, without intolerance or bigotry, the august figure of Washington presents itself as the living personation of each and all of these high qualities."

If we supplement this testimony with that of Lord Erskine, who deliberately declared that the character of Washington was the only one in all history that, in its contemplation, "filled him with awful reverence," we may safely conclude with Webster, that the name and character of Washington are indelibly written "in the clear upper sky," and that his, at least, is securely and forever among

"The few, the immortal names
That were not born to die."

The Declaration of Independence.

Washington, upon his appointment immediately vacated his seat in the Congress, and proceeded to the performance of his great and responsible trust. But on the 21st of June, 1775, there appeared in Congress another delegate from Virginia who has exerted an influence and left an impression upon our National history and character second only perhaps to that of Washington—that man was Thomas Jefferson. He had already made his mark as a public man of great promise in his native State, and was now destined to act upon a larger theatre, and become associated with men and events that led directly in the pathway to independence, confederation, and ultimately to the crowning and glorious result of Union and Nationality, and with all these the name and fame of Jefferson are inseparably connected.

The time had now arrived when the question of independence of and separation from the mother country could no longer be de-

ferred. The history of the rise, progress and consummation of this decisive movement is somewhat familiar, and needs not to be dwelt upon minutely. A brief recapitulation however will not be inappropriate in this rapid sketch of the prominent doings of the Continental Congress. To Virginia belongs without doubt or controversy, the honor of the first introduction of the distinct question of Independence. On the 14th day of May, 1776, she instructed her delegates in Congress to propose to that body to make a declaration that the United Colonies were free and independent States, and absolved from all allegiance to the Crown or Parliament of Great Britain. The first appearance of the question in Congress was on the 7th day of June, 1776, when as the Journal States "certain resolutions concerning independency being moved and seconded," the consideration of them was deferred to the following day, accompanied by an injunction that the members be prompt in their attendance. On the 8th the resolutions were taken up, but the further consideration was deferred until the following Monday the 10th of June, and although on that day the consideration of the first resolution was deferred to the 1st day of July thereafter, yet in order, as the Journal expresses it "that no time be lost," a Committee was appointed to prepare a declaration to the effect "That these United Colonies are and of right ought to be free and independent States; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown; and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is and ought to be totally dissolved." This resolution was the one originally presented by Richard Henry Lee, one of the most distinguished representatives from Virginia, and is now in existence in his own hand-writing. This motion was seconded by "glorious John Adams" as he was afterwards styled by Lee, and passed the Congress without a dissenting vote on the 2d day of July, 1776.

Thus was broken the last link in the chain of Colonial dependence, and the duty of presenting to the World the reasons which "a decent respect for the opinions of mankind" obliged the Congress to offer, in justification of the great and momentous step, was confided to a Committee composed of the illustrious names of Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Roger Sherman and Robert R. Livingston. To Jefferson was appropriately given the position of Chairman, and as such the duty devolved upon him of preparing the declaration. It could not have been assigned to better hands. In addition to a considerable Legislative experience, he was thoroughly familiar with the whole course of our Colonial history and the grievances under which our fathers suffered, and he

held a most facile as well as a powerful pen. In this respect he had no equal in the Congress, unless it was John Jay. Jay would in all probability have been placed upon the Committee instead of Livingston, but he had just before left his seat in the Congress to serve his own State in the Convention that gave to New York the Constitution of 1777, and although he subsequently returned to the Congress and was its presiding officer, he left it again to discharge in foreign lands great and important service for the Country in the diplomacy which closed the war and gave us final peace and National recognition.

The Time and Incidents of its Final Passage.

The decisive resolution which settled the question of independence was, as I have stated, passed on the 2d day of July and without a dissenting vote. This statement is literally true, and yet it requires a few words of explanation and comment. The resolution in the precise words in which it was finally passed, was introduced on the 7th of June, but its consideration was by the request of certain Colonies who were not fully prepared for action, postponed from time to time until the 1st day of July, when the debate was fully opened, and as Jefferson stated in 1787, the discussion "lasted nine hours and until evening without refreshment and without pause." Of what was uttered in this momentous debate we have in the Journal of course no record, and but little mention elsewhere except that Jefferson in speaking of it says that Adams was the "Colossus of the Congress," and Richard Stockton declared him to be the "Atlas of Independence." We have however what purports to be, on what authority is not stated, an analysis of the speech of Richard Henry Lee on introducing the resolution. The speech attributed to John Adams in the Memorial Address of Webster on the death of Adams and Jefferson, although often declaimed by school-boys as the genuine Adams speech, is the product of Webster's own brain and is merely suggested as one quite characteristic of the man. Such a speech might well have been uttered by one so prompt in action, and so admirably trained in debate as he was, and possessing as described by Jefferson himself "a power of thought and expression which often moved the members from their seats."

This debate continued through the 1st day of July and until the 2d when the final question was taken with no dissent as has been stated, except that the State of New York did not vote, her dele-

gates however expressing their entire acquiescence in the result. The reasons for the New York delegates declining to vote were entirely satisfactory, and consisted in the fact that they were waiting for instructions which they had solicited from their own Provincial Congress which was about dissolving, and therefore postponed action until the meeting of the New Congress, which assembled on the 8th of July, and on the 9th passed a resolution unanimously approving the Declaration of Independence and directing their delegates to sign the instrument, which they accordingly proceeded to do on the 15th day of July, 1776. This roll was subsequently completed as it now stands, and is indeed a most venerable document, but in point of fact it was not signed as it is popularly supposed to have been on the 4th day of July, 1776. Some document of the same import was doubtless signed on that day by the delegates then present, but there was a subsequent engrossment, and a new signing of all the names which now appear upon the parchment preserved with such scrupulous care among the Archives of the State Department at Washington.

Strictly speaking then it is an anachronism to call the 4th as we do "Independence Day." That day was the 2d and it was the day of which Adams spoke in his memorable letter to his wife written at the close of that day, as "the one that would be celebrated by succeeding generations as the *great anniversary festival*," to be solemnized by shows, parades, &c., and concerning which he predicted that through all the gloom that surrounded them he saw "the rays of ravishing light and glory" in which their posterity would bask and participate. The explanation is simply this, that as the Congress sat with closed doors the transactions of the 2d day of July and the absolute passage of the resolution were not publicly known, nor could they be until the report had been acted upon from the Committee on the Declaration which was made and adopted on the 4th, when the whole proceedings with the Declaration were publicly proclaimed from the steps of the State House.*

*I desire as a matter of justice to state that for the main facts connected with the passage of the resolution on Independence and the signing of the Declaration, I am indebted to the painstaking industry of my friend Wm. L. Stone of New York, who has made our Revolutionary history the subject of the most indefatigable research, and who as the result of many years of earnest and unrequited labor possesses in my opinion in a set of more than eighty bound volumes, a more rare and valuable collection of documents, histories, autographs, &c., concerning the campaign of Burgoyne, the battle and surrender at Saratoga and the concomitant incidents, than is contained in any public Institution or the library of any American Scholar living or dead.

It is no part of my purpose to enter upon any eulogy of the Declaration, much less to analyze its doctrines or enforce its lessons. Many of its topics were of temporary interest, and have passed away with the occasion that called them forth. One of the most able and brilliant of our recent scholars and public men, in what I must think was a burst of fancy as well as of rhetoric, once spoke of it as containing little else than "sounding and glittering generalities." If this were true of any portions of a document enshrined in the hearts and memories of all true Americans, it can not be affirmed of two of its cardinal principles, the corner-stones upon which are erected the solid structures of American, as well as of all other true freedom. They are the absolute equality of all men before the law, and in their political and class relations, and that the true source of all governmental institutions rests in the consent of the governed. These were principles before unknown, or at least unapplied, in all the feudal, hereditary and aristocratic dynasties of the earth. They struck a fatal blow not only to what Jefferson called "the right Divine of Kings to govern wrong," but to the "*Jus Divinum*" by which they assumed to govern at all, and elevating the people to the proud distinction of sovereigns, put the reins of government substantially into their hands, to be operated by such means and agencies as they had the power and inclination to create. These principles, personal and political freedom sustained and upheld by law and the enthroned empress "the world's collected will," are those that constitute our charter, as they must be the polar star of all the struggling advocates of true liberty, and when they are denied or disregarded, freedom and law together take from this world their everlasting flight.

Our Foreign Coadjutors.

Among other most encouraging and gratifying incidents connected with our struggle for freedom and independence, was the sympathy and co-operation received from the friends of liberty abroad. I allude not now to the alliance with France, which occurred at a much later period of the contest, and was the result of long-continued and admirable diplomacy conducted by some of our ablest and most sagacious men. From the moment that the spirit of resistance to unjust taxation and remorseless greed in those sent to rule over us, was developed, the interest in our cause was awakened in those strong and brave hearts that in other lands

had been summoned to action either by similar exactions, or who gladly heard the trumpet-call of freedom and the summons to defend the rights of man. It reached them across the roaring waves of the Atlantic, and called to our aid some of the choicest of Europe's best and noblest sons. The mention of these men in connection with the Continental Congress is entirely appropriate, because each of them, unless my memory fails, reported himself on his arrival to the Congress, and was publicly recognized and received with tokens of distinguished consideration, and all were very soon appointed to positions of high rank in the American army.

Did time and space permit, I should delight to dwell on the history of these men, some of whom had not only a distinguished record, but a chivalrous and even romantic story, that fairly makes the most sluggish blood tingle at its recital. As it is, I can do little more than mention the names of some five or six of the most distinguished, leaving to your own memories or the histories of that period to supply the details which my limited time will not permit. These men were not mere soldiers of fortune, the waifs thrown to the surface of the troubled waters by the love of adventure, the Dugald Dalgettys of their day, who fought under any flag and in any cause where emolument was to be secured or reputation won. They were moved to action in most cases by the highest principle, and inspired with the noblest impulses. Some of them had seen and felt the wrongs which were the outcome of the abuse of imperial and unchecked power, and some had in their own persons experienced the sharp edge of the sword that tyrants and despots love to wield over prostrate humanity. They hailed the dawn of a brighter hope for that humanity in the new world beyond the sea, and recognized the maxim that "Resistance to tyrants is obedience to God."

Poland gave to us the earliest of these coadjutors, in the persons of Count Pulaski and Thaddeus Kosciusko. It would require a volume to recount their histories, so closely connected as both are with the history of unhappy Poland, whose story has never yet been adequately told, although it is as the poet Campbell emphasized it, "the bloodiest picture in the book of time." It is a story that stamps ineffaceable disgrace upon the three European despots who partitioned the territory between them, and upon Napoleon, who, when he had the power, in 1808, failed to restore the possessions of which Poland had been robbed, and the autonomy she had lost. Both these men came to us before

the army had been formally organized, but their services were tendered and accepted, and both performed good and valiant deeds—Pulaski yielding his life to our cause, in the attack upon Savannah, in 1779, and America gratefully commemorating the act in a monument there erected to his memory.

Kosciusko came of a noble ancestry, and was a man of princely character and attainments. Soon after Washington's appointment as Commander-in-Chief, Kosciusko became one of his aids, and in this capacity, as well as others, performed important service for our cause. But a longing desire to aid, if possible, in restoring the lost glories of his native land, carried him back to Europe, before the close of our own struggle, where, in 1794, he headed the brave revolt against the oppressive Russian power, and was, literally, "Warsaw's last champion," and, entrusted with supreme authority, he, with only ten thousand men, resisted and repelled the assault of sixty thousand troops. In the words of another, "he displayed the integrity of Washington, with the activity of Cæsar." But the effort, although almost superhuman, was vain. In the last battle, he fought with scarce one-third the force of the enemy, covered with wounds, he fell from his horse, exclaiming, "*Finis Poloniae!*" It was, indeed, the end of the dream of Polish freedom. Kosciusko, although a prisoner, was treated by the Emperor Paul with distinguished consideration. He never again wore sword, and, although besought by Napoleon to enter his service, he declined, without an absolute promise that his country should again receive a free constitution, and be restored to its ancient boundaries. There is no nobler name than his, not excepting that of John Sobieski, in all Polish history. He died quietly, in France, after a life of storm and struggle and vicissitudes, and his body is entombed, by a royal mandate, in the mausoleum of the Kings of Poland, at Craeow, the most honored dust in that sepulchre of departed earthly greatness. The marble column that gleams on the eye of the passing traveler, from the cliffs at West Point, is only a cenotaph erected by a grateful country, to remind its sons, in all the coming generations, of one who gave to our infant liberties, the strength of a brave arm, and the impulse of a generous and noble heart.

Germany sent to us, in 1779, two grand recruits in the persons of the Barons DeKalb and Steuben. They were brave and experienced soldiers, the former having served more than forty years in the armies of France, and the latter in the wars of the great Frederick of Prussia, to whom he became an aid-de-camp. Both

were enthusiasts in the cause of American independence, and received distinguished commands in our army. DeKalb gave his life for us at the battle of Camden, and his memory was honored by a monument erected by Congress, upon the ground where he fell. Steuben rendered most invaluable service in the organization and discipline of our armies; was rewarded by Congress with a grant of 1,600 acres of land in our own county of Oneida, in the soil of which he sleeps beneath a monument which our grateful fellow-citizens recently erected and publicly dedicated, with appropriate ceremonies, to his honored name.

The most distinguished, as he was the most endeared to all Americans, was the Marquis de LaFayette, the most devoted and beloved friend of Washington. Of noble descent, of the most finished manners, the favorite of the Kingly Court of France, at the age of less than twenty he broke away from all the blandishments of that Court and the honors it had in store for him, and gave his means, his whole soul and being to our patriotic Colonists in the critical days of their struggle, and identified himself wholly with our fortunes and our cause. His history I need not repeat. It is familiar to us all as household words, and engraven on the heart of every true American, and wherever freedom finds a home and undeviating consecration to principle an honest worshipper, there will his name be found high up on the roll of the world's good and heroic men.

Articles of Confederation.

The next work of importance engaged in by the Congress was the preparation of, introduction into, and the passage by Congress, with the subsequent ratification by the States, of the Articles of Confederation. The subject was first brought to the notice of the Congress in the month of August, 1776; was debated from time to time, but the Articles did not finally pass the Congress until July, 1778, and were ratified in the following November. They were entered into by the thirteen original Colonies proclaimed States by the Declaration of Independence. They were evidently deemed matters of momentous import, and were expected to be of extended duration, for they were entitled "Articles of Confederation and perpetual Union," but in the result it turned out that they were of much less importance than was conceived, and a short experiment demonstrated their practical inutility. They did, indeed, accomplish one object, and in effect that was about all the end they subserved. They brought the States into closer bonds and culti-

vated the spirit of union, and therefore, perhaps, fitly preceded the grand work which the Constitution accomplished. They failed for the very reason that rendered the Constitution a necessity as well as a success. They had no inherent vigor and contained in themselves no power of accomplishing what they attempted. Their requisitions upon the States had no force beyond recommendations, and the States were at liberty to disobey without incurring any penalty, and with seemingly little consciousness of self-reproach.

Ordinance of 1787.

Before proceeding to what was substantially the closing, as it was the crowning act of this Congress, let us spend a moment in refreshing our remembrance of an act followed, perhaps by larger results and more enduring consequences than have attended any single act of legislation before or since the birth of our nation. I allude to the celebrated Ordinance of 1787, embraced in the scheme enacted by Congress for the government of that vast tract of country that went by the name of the Northwestern Territory. It comprehended a mighty space now filled up by millions of our enterprising pioneers, but then mostly an untrodden as it was an unexplored wilderness, so far as the white man had penetrated, stretching away from the west and north of the Ohio river onwards towards the Pacific, with dimensions and capacities equally unknown. It had been acquired, so far as any title could be predicated of it, by loose claims and an occasional random settlement of wandering adventurers from various States, the largest claimants being the States of Virginia, New York and Massachusetts, all of whom ultimately made generous cessions to the confederacy, so that it became the common property of the Union. A scheme was devised for its settlement and regulation forming the organic law which should forever prevail in its government. It was entitled "An Ordinance for the Government of the Territory of the United States northwest of the river Ohio." Into this ordinance was inserted this pregnant provision: "There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said Territory, otherwise than in the punishment of crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted." This section was prepared and offered in the Committee by Nathan Dane, of Massachusetts, was adopted by them and reported to Congress, and to its everlasting honor, passed by the unanimous vote of eight States, five of the eight being at that time slave-holding States. What a beneficent provision, and how far reaching in its results who is competent to tell.

In the memorable words of Webster, "it impressed upon the very soil itself, while it was yet a wilderness, an incapacity to sustain any other than a freeman. It laid the interdict against servitude in original compact, not only deeper than any local law, but deeper than all local constitutions." No child has been or ever will be born, throughout all that vast domain, that will not have occasion to bless the memory of Nathan Dane, and honor the good and the thoughtful men that passed that beneficent ordinance, "to the last syllable of recorded time."

The Constitution.

And now came the closing, the supreme, the superlative work of the Congress, without which all its other labors might well have proved vain and fruitless. It did not require unusual wisdom nor a protracted experience for sensible men to perceive that a compact between independent powers each asserting its own sovereignty and perpetually disposed to fly off in its centrifugal orbit, might indeed be a confederacy, but was not a Union such as should weld us together in harmonious relations and constitute us a homogeneous people, an autonomous, a self-sustaining Nation.

It is not within the scope of my present purpose to give a history of the great Convention by which that constitution was formed, nor of the various provisions of that instrument, although I must be pardoned if in closing I say a few words concerning the character and functions of that Government which it organized. The history of the Continental Congress substantially ends with the act by which in the resolution of February 21, 1787, it called a meeting of that Convention which was to assemble in the following May for the purpose of revising the Articles of Confederation, and in the words of the resolution "render the Federal Constitution adequate to the exigencies of Government and the preservation of the Union." This Constitution, the result of the labors of this Convention, was reported to the Congress on the 28th day of September, 1787, unanimously approved on the same day, and immediately transmitted to the States, and as we all know subsequently ratified by the nine States whose assent was required, returned to the Continental Congress thus ratified, which by a resolution duly adopted, appointed the first Wednesday in March, 1789, as the time for the new Government to commence its organized existence.

And here we may appropriately terminate the history of those several assemblages which altogether constitute the Continental Congress. The delegates met indeed, from time to time, until the 2d day of March, 1789, when, only a single member appearing, it

quietly terminated its existence. The last roll-call was made on the 10th day of October, 1788, when only twenty members answered to their names, and of those only two are especially notable, to wit: Alexander Hamilton and James Madison, whose subsequent history has given to each a record of service of immeasurable worth to the new government, and to them individually an immortal name. Had the Congress survived another month, it would have had an existence of fifteen years. There was no beat of drums, no waving of standards, no noisy proclamation of heralds, when it went out of life; but what a record has it left of patriotic, self-sacrificing service, and what a legacy of priceless worth in the Constitution which, through its agency, is bequeathed to us and to our posterity forevermore.

What Government has the Constitution Created?

And now, let us ask what is this Constitution our fathers have given us, and what the character, the functions, or, in other words, the real import and the actual value of the Government under which we live. Is it a mere compact made by sovereign and independent powers, each one the judge of the extent of the power it has conferred, and the manner and mode of its exercise? A Government terminable at the will and subject to the capricious control of each of the high contracting powers that assented to its form, and gave it leave to be? Are we an assemblage of consenting sovereigns to a compact to which at any moment we may put an end in the exercise of that sovereignty; an aggregate of assenting atoms, agreeing indeed to unite, but capable of resolving ourselves into our original elements, and assuming at our own pleasure our primitive form and substance?

These are pregnant questions, put by some with cautious hesitation, by others with bold assurance; and yet the answer to them all seems to me most easy and satisfactory. Our Constitution is not a compact, it was and is not the creation of independent sovereignties, each competent within the very terms and in the spirit of the Constitution to place upon it their own interpretation, and of their own volition without revolution or violence to withdraw themselves from its jurisdiction. Neither the Declaration of Independence nor the Constitution was the offspring of State Sovereignty. Both instruments on their very face confute this doctrine. The Declaration affirmed that, not by the authority of the States as corporate bodies politic, but "in the name and by the authority of the good people of these colonies," they declared

themselves free and independent States; and the Constitution with equal explicitness declares that "We the People of these United States do ordain and establish this Constitution."

And it is equally clear, to state the proposition in its briefest and most comprehensive terms, that by the Constitution the people of these United States established a nation supreme over all the lesser sovereignties that constituted the separate States, ordaining a Constitution that operated upon all the States in their corporate capacity not only, but directly upon every individual within the boundaries of the nation, and endowing that Government with legislative, judicial and executive functions, adequate to the enforcement of all its provisions against all resistance, whether that resistance should be by the exertion of individual force, or should arm itself with power attempted to be wielded by instrumentalities derived from any corporate source, be it municipal or State, or assuming to be sovereign under any name whatever. In these respects, if I may use the expression, as I do with the profoundest reverence, the General Government is like Deity itself—

> "Sitting serene upon the floods their fury to restrain,
> And as such Sovereign Lord supreme forevermore shall reign."

This is substantially the conclusion to which the great and unanswerable argument of Daniel Webster conducted the people of these United States when he met and overthrew the doughtiest of the champions of States' rights in the great debate of 1830. It is the doctrine which inspired the heart and aroused the unconquerable courage of that sturdy patriot, Andrew Jackson, who by the favor of a gracious Providence was in the Executive chair when nullification raised its head in 1832, and was by his iron will crushed out, as by his iron heel he would have stamped out its aiders and abettors, had they dared to put in actual practice what they proclaimed to be their abstract faith.

But although the snake was scotched, it was not killed, for it required the final and supreme argument to meet the doctrine of secession on its last field, and in agony and blood subdue and overthrow it forever. War is said to be the "*ultima ratio Regum*," and so it has often proved, and it is the final argument of Republics as well, when the issue presented is that of continued existence or speedy death. Very dear, indeed, should this our freedom and our Union be to us, for with a great price we purchased that freedom, and with a vast sacrifice we preserved that Union. Would you estimate in part that price and sum up that sacrifice? Go, then, and visit the homes and stand by desolated

hearthstones scattered through the land, and mark the vacant chairs once occupied by those who went forth to engage in that last great argument, and "whose feet departing ne'er returned." Walk through the National Cemeteries and count, if you can, the cenotaphs that lift their white heads above the graves of buried heroes, or visit the quiet rural burial-places and note the green mounds, each distinguished by the modest stars and stripes that loving hands with each returning spring has planted there, and ask who sleep beneath, and constitute a portion of that countless host who

> "On fame's eternal camping-ground,
> Their silent tents have spread
> While honor guards with ceaseless round
> The bivouac of the dead."

And then tell us what is the meaning of Union and Nationality, and what the extent and boundless comprehensiveness of the compensations that give to those sacrifices their priceless value, their inestimable worth.

The Portents and the Outlook.

Shall this Government that our fathers gave us, and this Union we have done and suffered so much to maintain, survive and be perpetuated, or shall we follow in the track of many Nations—the wrecks and debris of whose existence are strewn all along the shores of time? There are prophets of evil, as well as of good. They have existed in all ages, and do still. Ravens, very black and very hoarse, as black and hoarse as were those that sat upon the castle of Macbeth, and croaked the fatal entrance of Duncan, under his battlements. And some of them delight to sit upon the battlements of our Constitution, and hoarsely croak of present evil and coming disaster. Believe no such birds of ill-omen, listen to no such Cassandra lamentations of impending woe. Have faith in your institutions, and have faith in the men that enjoy as well as administer them.

Much as I admire Macaulay, I do not accept his philosophy. I remember that his training, as well as that of most of the foreign thinkers that have undertaken to sit in judgment upon us and our institutions, has been under monarchical and aristocratic influences, and my answer to his prediction that our institutions will fail because we have given to the people too much freedom, and that they will ultimately turn and destroy us with the very instrument we have given them for their and our protection, is the answer that, in a memorable debate in the 45th Congress, was given by him whom the people have just called to be their chief magistrate for the

coming four years. That answer is this: Neither Macaulay, nor any of the other thinkers to whom allusion has been made, have given proper weight to two potent influences that enter largely into our civilization, and give tone and character to our institutions. One of these is our educational forces, that reach through and will ultimately permeate all classes in our community, and the other is that we have no privileged social or class distinctions that hold men down in hopeless, abject subjection, but all have liberty by the light of our institutions, to rise to the highest position within the gift of the Republic. To use his own striking illustration, "our society does not resemble the crust of the earth, with its impassable barriers of rock. It resembles rather the waters of the mighty sea, deep, broad and boundless, and yet so free in all its parts, that the drop which mingles with the sand at its bottom, is free to rise through all the mass of the superincumbent waters, until it flashes in the light on the crest of the highest wave." This is our answer. Is it not ample, and is it not enough?

For myself, standing upon the verge of three-fourths of a century of our National history, having partaken in a limited degree of the responsibilities attaching to its Legislative, Judicial and Executive functions, and gazing back through that long vista upon its varied fortunes, I avow myself in all that respects our National glory, stability and perpetuity, an Optimist in as large a sense as John Milton was in regard to England, when in that grand burst of eloquence in his plea for the liberty of unlicensed printing, he exclaimed, "Methinks I see in my mind a noble and puissant Nation rousing herself like a strong man after sleep, and shaking her invincible locks. Methinks I see her as an eagle, mewing her mighty youth, and kindling her undazzled eyes at the full midday beam purging and unsealing her long abused sight at the fountain itself of heavenly radiance, while the whole brood of timorous and flocking birds with those that love the twilight, flutter about, amazed at what she means, and in their envious gabble would prognosticate a year of Sects and Schisms."

Such was the vision that broke upon the mental eye, of one of the profoundest thinkers and noblest patriots of England. If the historian of the mother-land can not truthfully record its perfect fulfillment there, may it not be the hope and aspiration of the Nation that broke away from her control, forgetting all our sad past and burying it forever in its grave of blood, and looking cheerfully to the future with its rainbow of promise, to more than surpass the dream of the Poet in the peaceful glories that shall crown the coming history of free, united and happy America.

THE PALATINES AND THEIR SETTLEMENT IN THE VALLEY OF THE UPPER MOHAWK.

BY SAMUEL EARL.

DELIVERED BEFORE THE ONEIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, MAY 11, 1880.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen:

It is not yet one hundred and sixty years since the first European settlers planted themselves in the valley of the upper Mohawk. Before that time the fertile lands bordering on the river were not cultivated, except after the manner of a rude and uncivilized race. The first settlement in this part of the Mohawk valley made by white people began in 1723, and was commenced under peculiar and somewhat extraordinary circumstances, and I might add by an interesting and somewhat extraordinary people.

The first settlement was on what is known as the German Flatts Patent, or Burnettsfield Patent, as it is also called. The lands embraced within this patent were surveyed into lots, taking in lands on both sides of the river from Little Falls to near the village of Frankfort. But the patent does not embrace all the lands adjoining the river between those points. It takes in, however, quite all of the valuable flat land, and leaves out all of the high and hard lands which come down to the river. The intention on the part of the Colonial Government in giving this patent was to give to each person named therein—ninety-two in number—one hundred acres of land, of which about thirty should be low or meadow land, and the balance wood land, or upland, as it was called—the lots to be assigned in severalty to the persons named in the patent, and to be held in fee. The one hundred acres generally constituted one lot. This was so as to all lots in the patent on the south side of the river; but on account of the broad flats on the north side at Herkimer, the lowland thirty acres could not in all cases be laid out so as to lie contiguous to the upland seventy acres assigned to the same person; and where this was not done, the lowland lot and upland lot, which made up the one hundred acres, were designated in the patent by the same

number. The long and narrow lots in this patent, or at least many of them, can yet be plainly perceived by the line fences running back on the hills; and persons passing on the railroad through Herkimer and east of Herkimer, can plainly distinguish many of these lots as they were originally laid out.

I propose on this occasion to give some account of the people to whom this patent was granted, and who settled upon it in the spring of 1723. I shall narrate the circumstances of their coming to this country, and, as briefly as I can, tell who they were, whence they came, and why they came, and how it happened that their final destination was upon the banks of the upper Mohawk. And unless I find your patience wearied by the length of my narrative, I will make a few observations in reference to some of their leading families and their subsequent history.

It is well known to the student of history that in a former division of the map of Europe, there were in Germany what was then called the Upper and Lower Palatinate. They constituted two circles or territorial divisions of Germany, but were not contiguous. The Lower Palatinate on the Rhine, as it was called, embraced territory on both sides of that river, of which the chief cities were Mannheim and Hiedleburg. This district of country, consisting of several thousand square miles, is among the richest and fairest in Europe, and in the latter part of the seventeenth century it belonged wholly to Germany. On account of the almost incessant wars between France and Germany, and the exposed situation of this rich and populous district of country, it was frequently overrun and often devastated by the armies of both of the contending parties. Its inhabitants had scarcely an interval of repose from the calamities of war. But the hardest trials to which the people of the Palatinate were subjected, occurred in the desolating wars waged during the reign of Louis XIV of France. He invaded the Palatinate in 1689 and in 1692, and several times before that, and each time ravaged it with fire and sword. It had often been devastated before; but it is said nothing occurred in all the previous invasions of that war-stricken country to be compared with what was done by the armies of Louis, and by his orders, in his last campaign in that part of Germany. The French commander received orders from his cruel master to turn this fine district of country into a wilderness, and he did so. He announced to the terror-stricken inhabitants—then consisting of more than a half-million of as cultivated and refined a people as could be found on the continent of Europe—that he

granted them three days of grace, and that within that time they must leave and shift for themselves. It was in the winter time when this summons came, and as we are told, the roads and fields, which then lay deep in snow, were blackened by innumerable multitudes of men, women and children flying from their homes, and left to wander about the fields without shelter and without food, while they beheld their homes reduced to ashes, their goods seized and their possessions pillaged by a rapacious soldiery. The excesses of the French army let loose upon the inhabitants of this fair country, were frightful in the extreme. Macaulay, in speaking of one of these invasions, says:

"The flames went up from every market place, every hamlet, every parish church, every country seat within the devoted provinces. The fields where the corn had been sown were plowed up. The orchards were hewn down. No promise of a harvest was left on the fertile plains near what had once been Frankenthal. Not a vine, not an almond tree was to be seen on the slopes of the sunny hills around what had once been Hiedleburg. No respect was shown to palaces, to temples, to monasteries, to infirmaries, to beautiful works of art, to monuments of the illustrious dead. The far-famed castle of the Elector Palatine was turned into a heap of ruins. The adjoining hospital was sacked. The provisions, the medicines, the pallets on which the sick lay were destroyed. The very stones of which Mannheim had been built were flung into the Rhine."

Such were the horrors of that war-afflicted people. The destroying Angel could not have done worse towards them.

At last, however, peace came in 1697. The short repose from the strifes and desolations of war which followed, gave to the distressed inhabitants of the Palatinate an opportunity to calmly contemplate their situation. The past to them was full of horrible suffering; the present was full of destitution and misery; and as to the future for these impoverished people, it was simply distressing for them to consider it in connection with their native land.

Under such circumstances and thus situated, it seems natural enough that they should look about for better homes and for greater safety for life and property. These people, thus scourged by cruel war, formed the Palatine emigration to this country, and some of them are the same persons whose names appear in the German Flatts Patent to which I have referred, and in which they are called "distressed Palatines"—distressed most certainly they were by every calamity following in the trail of war; grief was in every family, and bitter poverty was their lot. Under these

circumstances, it is plain to be seen that out of a people thus situated there would be many who would be glad to leave their native Rhine and seek new homes elsewhere. In their poverty-stricken condition, they turned their eyes towards England for help. She was the enemy of France and the ally of Germany in the recent wars; and it was but natural that they should expect aid from that friendly and sympathizing source. And accordingly we find that a small emigration of Palatines came over to England in 1708. These were provided for at the public expense and sent over to America, and given lands at Newburg. The favorable reception they met with while in England and the attractions of this country were doubtless reported back to their war-stricken friends on the Rhine; and the next year witnessed such an extraordinary emigration from the Lower Palatinate to England as to surprise the English people and puzzle the authorities there how to provide for or what to do with them. Their numbers were great and their necessities were great.

By the emigration of that year from the Palatinate, England received an addition of about 13,000 poor and destitute people, and to provide for them private charities were taxed and the public burdens greatly increased. The attention of English statesmen was directed to the subject of their disposal, and various plans were suggested and considered in reference to planting them in different places in her Majesty's dominions. Commissioners were appointed to take charge of them, and also to provide for their settlement. It was their wish that they be sent to some colony and be kept together; but this seemed to be impracticable, and some were sent to Ireland, others to the West Indies, and to further reduce the burden of their support, many of the young men were induced to enlist in the English army, so that at the beginning of the year 1710 there were left undisposed of between 3,000 and 4,000 of these poor Palatines, and they remained in and about the city of London until March following, when they embarked for America. It was the proposition of Colonel Hunter, the newly-appointed Governor of the Provinces of New York and New Jersey, to bring them over with him, and to plant them on lands bordering on the Hudson or Mohawk, suitable for the production of naval stores, such as resin, tar and pitch, for the use of the Government, in order that the public treasury might in this way be reimbursed for the expenses incurred on their account. In the reports and statements made to the British Government, the advantages of tar-making by these people were set forth in the

most favorable light, and were made to appear very plausible. Great expectations were indulged in, and the Government was encouraged to continue its expenses for them and provide for their transportation to America.

The poor Palatines were so utterly helpless that they were willing to accept any terms which might be required of them, in order that they might be exempt from the unutterable miseries of war, such as was almost continously waged upon their native soil. Before embarking for this country, they were required to enter into a written agreement that, in consideration of moneys already expended on their account, and to be expended upon them by the Crown for their transportation and settlement here, they would labor on such lands as should be allotted to them in the Province of New York, in the production of naval stores, until such time as they should reimburse the Government. And in this contract it was stipulated that the Queen would transport them to America, and would furnish them with provisions and clothing for two years after their arrival here; and it was agreed, also, on their part, that they would not leave the Province of New York without permission. And it was further provided in the contract that each person should receive forty acres of land free of all taxes for seven years, on condition of performing their contract.

The Palatines who embarked for our shores under this arrangement were upwards of 3,000, and they were probably the last of the emigration of the previous year to England. They set sail in March, 1710, in a fleet of ten ships, which were crowded and poorly supplied with provisions and suitable supplies for the voyage. The ships became separated by rough and stormy weather, and the voyage was a long and tedious one; and it was not until in July that the last ship-load arrived in New York. They suffered terribly on the passage, many died and nearly all were sick, and they arrived in a most deplorable condition. According to the report made by Governor Hunter, July 24, 1710, upon the arrival of the last ship, 470 and upwards of the wretched Palatines died on the way. But according to their own accounts in reporting the sufferings of their passage, 1,700 of their number died on ship board and upon landing in New York. It is hardly possible to realize the amount of suffering and distress there must have been among these poor people upon that passage, when nearly one-half sickened and died on the way. The number of Palatines surviving this terrible voyage, as reported by those who furnished rations for them after their arrival in New York, was 2,227; but

it was supposed in England the number was less and not to exceed 2,000. Certainly, those furnishing the rations for these people upon their landing, had no interest in reporting the number less than they actually were; and assuming the number that survived the voyage to have been as large as reported, and that there were 4,000, as claimed by the Palatines who constituted the ten ship-loads, then the frightful mortality on the passage was as claimed by them; and that is, about 1,700 of their number died.

Death upon the ocean made many orphans to be taken care of. They were taken by the public authorities in New York and apprenticed in families in the city and in the surrounding country. About one hundred orphans were thus provided for, among them John Peter Zenger, who was apprenticed to William Bradford, the first printer in New York, and who afterwards became famous in New York for his great struggle for the freedom of the press, on account of which he has been called the Morning Star of American liberty—a title which justly belongs to him.*

As soon as arrangements could be made, these poor people were sent up the Hudson and placed upon lands selected for them—one parcel was on the east side and the other on the west side of the river, and nearly opposite. The tract on the east side is now embraced in the town of Germantown, in Columbia county; that on the west side is in the present town of Saugerties, in Ulster county. They were placed upon these lands on the Hudson in the fall of 1710 and in the winter and spring of 1711. The contract for furnishing them with provisions was given to Robert Livingston, who was the ancestor of that very distinguished and for a long time prominent and influential family in this State. He was charged with unfair dealing towards the poor Palatines and with the Government. Short weights in flour and poor beef, and often none at all, were frequent subjects of complaint; and connected with furnishing these people with needful supplies, whether of provisions, clothing, or implements of trade or husbandry, there was some overreaching of one kind or another, which caused discontent among them. They were scantily provided with food and clothing, and implements and tools with which to work were slow in coming; and in this way their patience was severely taxed.

* Zenger was indicted, in 1735, for a libel on account of his strictures upon the Colonial Government, which appeared in his paper published in New York. He nobly defended himself and the right of a free press. See his trial, 17 Howel's State Trials, page 675.

They were willing and ready to work, but for a long time no fit tools were provided.

They were principally husbandmen, but among them were mechanics belonging to the different trades, and they also had with them their ministers of religion and schoolmasters. Without anything else to do, and being poorly fed, some 300 of their number volunteered in that fruitless expedition under Colonel Nicholson against Canada in the summer of 1711. Many of the persons who were in that expedition became the pioneer settlers on the German Flatts Patent, and among them appear the names of Edick, Shoemaker, Doxstader, Folts, Orendorf, Bellinger, Weber, Smith, Bell and other names still prominent in this part of the Mohawk valley. And in that expedition was John Jost Petri, who became one of their most prominent men on the Mohawk; and also Nicholas Feller. The name also of George Kerchmer appears in the list of the Palatine volunteers in that expedition; and I am inclined to think the name was intended for Herchmer or Hercheimer, as the name of Herkimer was sometimes written. And I am inclined to think, also, though this is mere conjecture, that George Kerchmer, as the name appears, if it was meant for Herkimer, was the grandfather or uncle of General Herkimer, of Oriskany fame.

During the winter and spring of 1711, these Palatines employed themselves in erecting their humble habitations on the Hudson, and in making clearings to plant as soon as the season would permit. Thus employed, they got through the winter. As under their contract they were to have forty acres of land each, surveyors were sent to mark out their lands; and it was now for the first time, as they claimed, represented to them that they were not to have the title to the lands set off to them until they had, by their labor in producing naval stores, reimbursed the Government for all its expenses on their account. This understanding of the contract was new to them, and they complained that it was misread to them in England. Their eyes were now open to behold their real condition. They saw before them a long and hard service for the Crown, during which time their condition would be no better than serfs bound to the soil. What added to their discouragement was, they found the land poor. They could not see how they could support themselves and their families on forty acres of such unpropitious soil, and at the same time perform their contract with the Government. Discontent followed. They declared they came to America to establish their families; to secure lands for their chil-

dren, on which after their death they would be able to support themselves, which they insisted could not be done there. Some of their number, in considering the subject, thought they had better submit to their hard lot; others argued against it. To those who advised to submit with patience and hope for better fortunes, it was answered, "that patience and hope make fools of those who fill their stomachs with them." But after a great deal of hesitation and some mutinous conduct on their part, they were induced to go to work in girdling trees, preparatory for making tar. Some of them, however, were impatient to get out of this service, and they left the settlement without the consent provided for in their contract; and accordingly we find, in October, 1711, an order issued by the Colonial Secretary directing the constables to cause all the Palatines to go to their own settlements, and to forewarn all of their districts that they do not harbor any Palatines at their peril. Governor Hunter it seems had so much trouble in his management of the Palatines for the year 1711, that he resolved upon a different and more severe course for their management in 1712; and for that purpose he ordered a lieutenant and some soldiers from Albany to stand guard over them, and to enforce, if need be, the regulations adopted by him for their government, and to enforce the orders, also, of the overseers of their work. One regulation was: "That no man upon any pretense whatever should leave his work without the license of the overseer."

By September of this year, fortunately for the Palatines, the money and credit of the Governor for their further support were exhausted. The time had now arrived when it was supposed and contemplated by the contract entered into by them with the Crown, they would be able to support themselves, and at the same time produce naval stores for the Government. But at this time they were as poor as ever, and were not in a self-supporting condition; so the Governor, intending to appeal to the Home Government for further appropriations in their behalf, and as a temporary shift, directed the agent in charge of them, in September, 1712, to call them together and communicate to them the situation, and to tell them to accept any employment they might be able to get from farmers and others here and in the Province of New Jersey, for their own and their families' support, until they should be recalled by his proclamation to resume the work under their contract; and he added that the Palatines be informed, also, that the Government did not intend to abandon the

tar work, or to recede from any part of the agreement made with them; and notice was given them that they would be treated as deserters from the Queen's service, if they went elsewhere than in this Province and in the adjoining Province of New Jersey. They were forbidden, also, to depart under pain of immediate arrest without a ticket of leave. Thus situated, and having no means of support, many of them did go out to service, and taking advantage of the ticket of leave given them, some doubtless wandered off and visited other and better lands.

The lands at the Schoharie were visited; and it said the friendly Indians there invited them to come and possess the land, saying they would sustain them in the possession, though they had sold the lands to Queen Anne. These lands were rich and the Indians were friendly; and here the half-famished Palatines wished to settle, and they accordingly petitioned the Governor to be permitted to settle there. But the Governor, not willing to release them from the performance of their contract with the Government, refused to give his consent, and told them they must live and die on the lands where he had placed them. Scarcity of provisions and want of funds, however, left Governor Hunter no other alternative but to let them go and shift for themselves. Availing themselves of this opportunity to escape the bondage in which they had been held, they resolved to abandon the settlements on the Hudson. To remain was impossible; they had no provisions and no funds. They must go or starve, and they resolved to go. Accordingly, in the winter of 1713, a terribly severe winter, without food and almost naked, amidst the cries and lamentations of the women and children, they set out for Schoharie, and went by the way of Albany and Schenectady. They left in a body; and to understand what their condition was, it must be remembered that the snow was deep, that they had but few if any domestic animals, and that they were ill-clad and without provisions. They took all their personal effects with them; what they could not carry on their backs and heads, was placed upon sledges drawn by the hardy and brave men and women who made up the toiling and wailing procession, which moved slowly and tediously up the Hudson. This was a hard journey; but undertaken by a hardy race to escape not only the hard fate of an almost perpetual bondage under their contract, but actual starvation. Their destitution and suffering drew from the charitable inhabitants on the route some needful supplies. Their lot thus far was a hard one—much harder I imagine than we, in these happier times, are fully able to understand.

Many of these poor people were provided for during the winter by the charitable Dutch residents of Albany and Schenectady; otherwise, they must have perished. But some of them, although it was mid-winter and the ground covered three feet with snow, pushed forward to Schoharie from Schenectady, cutting the road through the wilderness. In an account given of this most surprising undertaking, in a statement made in behalf of these Palatines, it is stated that "all hands fell to work, and in two weeks' time cleared the way through the woods fifteen miles in length with the utmost toil and labor, though almost starved and without bread." Those who remained at Albany and Schenectady during the winter, were provided with such assistance as the inhabitants could give them; and they were doubtless provided with some domestic animals, and they went on and joined their companions at the Schoharie in the spring of 1713. They all came there destitute and extremely poor—destitute as to food and clothing, and poor as to every comfort of civilized life. And here came, according to some accounts, 300 families; but there were probably not over 160 families, which appears to be the number more frequently stated in reports of their grievances.

The trials of these poor Palatines did not end here. They found after they had made homes for themselves at Schoharie, and had begun to enjoy some of the comforts of civilized life there, that the lands possessed by them were claimed by other proprietors, with whom they could not make satisfactory terms for their continued occupation. They were bound to be free, and wanted free lands; and finding they could not make terms which would be satisfactory to them with the persons who claimed to be the rightful proprietors of the lands, and finding, also, that no relief could be had from the Colonial Government as against the persons who set up a prior title to the lands at the Schoharie, they resolved to break up their settlement there and seek out new homes upon lands which they could claim as their own, and be free. Accordingly a considerable portion of them struck into the wilderness for Pennsylvania, and took up lands there, where their descendants still remain. Another portion of them came to the Mohawk valley, and under a license granted to them by Governor Burnett to purchase lands of the Indians on the Mohawk, they obtained a deed from the representatives of the Five Nations of the land which is embraced in the German Flatts Patent, of which I have spoken. The grant from the Indians is to John Conrad Wiser, John Jost Petri, Conrad Rickert, Nicholas Feller, and others who are named, and there is added in the deed as follows: "With all other High Dutchmen or

Palatines in this Government for a settlement." This grant, on the petition of John Jost Petri and Conrad Rickert in behalf of themselves and others, the Palatines concerned in the purchasing of lands of the Indians, was confirmed at a Council held in New York, January 17, 1723, and a warrant was at once issued to the Surveyor General to make the survey, and it was ordered that every man, woman and child receive one hundred acres of land; and that the names of all persons concerned be reported to the Surveyor General or his deputy. The names reported, it would seem, were only ninety-two in number, as this is the number of names mentioned in the patent, which is dated April 30, 1725. Not all of the families that left Schoharie came up the Mohawk valley as far as the German Flatts Patent. Some of them remained upon the river in Montgomery county, and settled in the present township of Palatine, which takes its name from them, as do also Palatine Church and Palatine Bridge—names familiar to all of us.

It is proper to state here that of the emigration to this country of that large body of Palatines in 1710, a few remained in the city of New York; and that of the number who were sent up the river to make tar for the Government, some remained at those settlements, who preferred to bear the ills of their present situation than to take the chances of unknown trials in the wilderness beyond the then borders of civilization. And it is true, also, that some remained at Schoharie and accepted the conditions of the proprietors of the land rather than give up their lands; so that to this day there are descendants in each of those places bearing the same names of their ancestors who partook of many of the sorrows and trials to which I have referred.

I have attempted thus far to trace, with as much brevity as I could, the history and the trials of the people who became the pioneer settlers of the valley of the upper Mohawk; and to show whence they came, and why they came to their final destination on the Mohawk.*

*Many of the facts thus far stated in reference to the Palatines may be found in the Documentary History and in the Colonial History of the State of New York; and I am indebted, also, to the valuable paper read by that eminent scholar, Henry A. Homes, LL. D., the present State Librarian, before the Albany Institute in 1871, on the subject of the Palatine Emigration to England in 1709, and to the authorities he cites, for some of the facts I have stated relating to that emigration, and as to what occurred in England in reference to the Palatines after their arrival there. The cruel treatment of these people by the French Monarch filled all Protestant Europe with horror, and nearly all the historians of that time make mention of the barbarous conduct of the French towards them.

But the subsequent history of these people is not without interest; and I will continue my narrative in respect to them for a short time longer.

The location of the Palatines was upon the then distant and exposed frontier of our State. Their relations with the Indians were friendly, and the soil was generous. They set to work and soon made homes for themselves; and without delay built for their use a church and a school-house. This was before the year 1730, and they were built on the south side of the river, where the old stone church now stands. Not long after that a church was built on lands given by John Jost Petri, just where the present brick church stands, near the Court House in the village of Herkimer. A church on this site was burned at the time the Palatine village, as it was called, on the north side of the river, was sacked by the French and Indians, under the command of M. DeBeletre, in November, 1757.

These people, I mean the first generation of settlers, were quite well educated, and were well informed; and some of them became prominent and useful in various employments in the public service, such as furnishing and transporting supplies for the garrisons that were established for the defense of the frontiers; and some of them were usefully employed at the carrying-place at Little Falls. At that early day the Mohawk river was, and for nearly a century afterwards continued to be, the highway of commerce from Schenectady westward, and on it was mainly transported the merchandise used by the inhabitants, and also the military stores and supplies for the garrison at Oswego, and for military use elsewhere. At this carrying-place freights of all kinds had to be carried between the upper and lower end of the falls in the river by land carriage. The road used for this purpose was on the south side of the river.* At that early day, and for many years afterwards, the only road through the valley of the upper Mohawk was on the south side of the river. The situation of the settlers on the German Flatts Patent gave them the monopoly of the important and constantly increasing business at this point in the river. And I find among the papers of John Jost Petri abundant evidence that he and his family were largely inter-

* Smollett, Vol. 2, at page 163, speaks of the land carriage at the Little Falls, and uses language in describing it which to one acquainted with the locality, leaves little room to doubt that the road used for this purpose was on the south side of the river.

ested in this carrying-place, employing men and teams in the business.

As Petri was an undoubted leader among these people, and was a grown-up man when, with the thousands of other Palatines, he left his native land in 1709, I will here give some further account of him, and make a brief reference, also, to a few other leading and prominent Palatine families who belonged to the same emigration, and went through the bitter trials and sufferings of which I have spoken. John Jost Petri was one of the committee who set out from Schoharie to select a new location for the "distressed Palatines." He was one of the number who petitioned Governor Burnett for a license to purchase the lands of the Indians; and he is named in the Indian deed, which is dated July 9, 1722. He was one of two who, in behalf of the Palatines, petitioned the Governor in Council to confirm the deed given by the Indians, and to grant the patent; and he is the first named in the patent. The lot assigned to him is lot No. 8, on the north side of the river. It is the same lot upon which the paper-mill in Herkimer and the water-power connected with it are located. A lot of eighty-six acres, upon which is now the main portion of the village of Herkimer, and which for a long time was called the *Stone Ridge*, was assigned to his wife; and it was upon this lot he lived, and where he and upwards of one hundred others were taken prisoners in November, 1757, and where afterwards was Fort Dayton. The house in which he lived was only about thirty rods northerly from the Court House in Herkimer. There is an old house still standing on the precise spot where he lived, and the old well used by him, and which was in all probability dug over one hundred and fifty years ago, still remains. From this well the people in the fort on this spot were supplied with water during two wars.

When he was taken prisoner in the French and Indian war, and for some time before, he was a contractor for the Crown in furnishing supplies and disbursing moneys in the public service. In consequence of the burning of his house at the time of the destruction of the German Flatts on the north side of the river in November, 1757, he lost all his accounts and valuable papers; and when he returned from his captivity, about a year afterwards, he set to work to get his accounts allowed and paid by the proper authorities. The late Solomon Petrie, of Little Falls, was his great-grandson; and such papers as were left by this old Palatine came down to him, and are now in the possession of the widow of his son, who has kindly shown them to me. From these papers,

many of which are interesting, it appears that John Jost Petri had large transactions with the Colonial authorities, and that at the time he was taken prisoner large sums of money were due him, and his vouchers were lost. He was obliged, as best he could, to make out duplicates of his accounts and satisfy the Commissioners who were to examine and report on them, that they were just and should be paid. He evidently was subjected to a great deal of trouble in getting his accounts in such shape as to be allowed. I found among his papers an account in his favor amounting to 357*l.* 3*s.* 6*d.* against his Excellency Governor Shirly. This account commences May, 1755, and ends in October of the same year, and among the items are the following:

May 16.	To ten men making road at the carrying-place, each three days, is thirty days, at 5*s.* a day,.....	£20 00
June 9.	To six horses which I bought for.....	48 10
July 27.	To 96 skipples peas sent to Oswego, with all charges,.....	44 05
October 28.	To 45 skipples flour delivered to Captain Williams, ...	9 00

Another account is headed as follows:

"Account of riding at the carrying-place paid by John Jost Petri, Anno 1755, for his Majesties service."

Then follows a long list of names, with the number of loads drawn by each, and the prices charged and paid by him. This account foots up for riding loads, as it is expressed, at the carrying-place, 1,352*l.* 14*s.* 6*d.*, and for riding loads at the Canajoharie Falls, 444*l.* 14*s.* 0*d.*

Some of the items in the account for the carrying-place are as follows:

George Lodwick Smith,	67	loads, at	9*s.*,.....	£30 03 00
Jacob Nicholas Weber,	44	"	"	19 16 00
Thomas Shoemaker,	95½	"	"	42 19 06
Frederick Orendorf,	93	"	"	41 07 00
Leonard Helmer,	29	"	"	13 01 00

The whole number of persons employed in riding loads at the carrying-place appearing in the account is 58, and the number of loads drawn is 2,633.

The number of persons employed at the Canajoharie Falls appearing in the account is 18, and they are credited with draw-

ing 2,186 loads. And in this account he credits himself with paying Philiip Bell for 15 days' work at the fort and storehouse, 5*s.* per day, 3*l.* 15*s.*

This account is endorsed as follows:

"1755. John Jost Petri account for riding at the great carrying-place and Canajoharie Falls, charges in account the 26th April, 1756, 1,352*l.* 14*s.* 6*d.*, 444*l.* 14*s.*"

I should state here that the Canajoharie Falls carrying-place referred to in this account was at the Little Falls, and that the great carrying-place referred to was between Rome and Wood creek; and that the fort and storehouse mentioned in the account were his own house, which was used as a fort, and was called a fort at that time.

As all his papers and vouchers were lost by the burning of his house, he was obliged to furnish some evidence of his expenditures for the public service, and accordingly he procured certificates from persons to whom he paid money, and the purpose for which he paid the same. And among such certificates I find the following:

"This is to certify that I have received of Mr. John Jost Petri, in the year of our Lord 1755, the sum of six pounds for 30 skipples of wheat at 4*s.* per skipple, which he had of me for his Majesties' use. Received by me.

JOHN JACOB WEBER."

He evidently pressed his claim upon the Government for payment upon such certificates and such other evidences as he could obtain. I find among the old papers relating to these accounts a statement made by the Commissioners whose duty it was to report upon them, in the following language:

"The Commissioners' remarks on Hon. Jost Petri's accounts: Hon. Jost Petri's whole supplies and services amounted to 2,590*l.* 16*s.* 9*d.* Mr. Petri's house was burned and he was carried captive into Canada, so that all his vouchers were destroyed. His age and the distance he lives from New York has prevented us from examining him personally. From the information we can get, and from the knowledge of one of the Commissioners, we learn that he furnished many things and performed many services, probably to higher amount than the money he has received from the agents at New York. It will not be difficult to collect on the spot the true amount of his accounts. We would, therefore, admit the charge of the money paid him by the agents at New York being 2,154*l.* 12*s.*, and advise your Excellency to order the balance of 436*l.* 4*s.* 9*d.* to remain in the Deputy Paymaster General's

hands, as a sufficient pledge to indemify the Crown for any overcharge that may appear upon a close examination on the spot."

From this document and others which have come under my notice, I am satisfied that this leading Palatine was actively engaged in various important services for the Government, and was honored with the confidence of the persons in power, and he became rich; and I am satisfied, also, that the entire settlement at the German Flatts prospered greatly by their favorable location on the Mohawk for raising and furnishing supplies for the military posts on the frontiers. Their services likewise were frequently called into requisition to build roads, transport military supplies to Oswego, and do many other things for the public service which brought them money. As to John Jost Petri, he was the natural leader among these people. It is said of him that he was tall—"full six feet and well proportioned," and had a fair business education and capacity for business. He was twice married and had eight children, four sons and four daughters; and it is said that one of his daughters was the wife of Christian Shell, the hero of Shell's Bush. He made his will in 1757, which is still in existence, and died at a very advanced age in 1770. Several of his sons were employed in the public service; one was killed at Oriskany and another at Little Falls during the Revolutionary war. Most of the persons who bear the name of Petrie, as the name is now spelled, still residing in Herkimer county, are descendants of this old Palatine. The late David and Joram Petrie, formerly prominent and well-known business men at Little Falls, were among his descendants, as were, also, the late Solomon Petrie, Esq., and the late Hon. George Petrie, both of Little Falls. The latter was a Member of Congress from the Herkimer and Montgomery District in 1847 and 1848. John M. Petrie, who represented Herkimer county in the Legislature of the State in 1808 and 1809, was a grandson of the old Palatine. One of his sons was Captain Marcus Petrie; and among the old papers of this family is one of some interest as showing their local prominence; and with it I will close what I have to say in respect to the Petrie family on this occasion. It is headed "Instructions for Captain Marcus Petri," and is as follows:

"You are, with the company of which I have this day appointed you Captain, immediately to proceed to the west end of the great carrying-place from the Mohawk river to the Wood creek, and encamp at the place where Captain Douglas was encamped. You are as often as is necessary to keep the company employed in scouting near the said carrying-place and near the

bank of the Wood creek, and to do all in your power with the said company to defend the same and to protect the battoes coming and going between Oswego and the carrying-place from any attempt of the enemy; and if at any time you should discover any parties of French or their Indians in the neighborhood of the carrying-place, you are to give immediate notice thereof to Captain Williams, who is posted at the east end of the same, and to follow his directions if you join him in the attack of them, or in the defense of his or your own camp.

You are to take proper care of what provisions or stores shall be sent you by Captain Williams in their way to Oswego, and to guard them and the storehouse at your encampment. You are to dispatch the battoes with provisions and stores from your end of the carrying-place and down to Canada creek, and to keep the Wood creek cleared from any obstructions of trees or otherwise.

For these services, you as Captain are to be allowed ten shillings per day, and the men under your command four shillings per day, New York currency; you and they providing your own clothing and arms, ammunition and every other necessary.

By order of his Excellency's command.

August 10, 1755. W. SHIRLEY.

WILLIAM ALEXANDER, *Secretary.*"

Another leading Palatine at the beginning of the settlement on the German Flatts Patent was Nicholas Feller. He belonged to the emigration of 1710, and he partook of their hard lot. He was among the number who were settled on the Hudson, and who volunteered in the expedition against Canada in 1711, and he was at Schoharie. He was, also, one of the delegation chosen to seek out the new location on the banks of the Mohawk. His name appears in the Indian deed to which I have referred. The lot assigned to him in the German Flatts Patent is lot No. 7, next easterly to the lot of John Jost Petri. He was an old man in 1734. In that year he made his will, which was witnessed by his neighbor Petri, and he died soon after. He was a leader among the Palatines and prominent in their church. He left a son and several daughters, as appears by his will; one of his daughters was the wife of Nicholas Wollaber, who gave the land upon which the old stone church stands, on the south side of the river, and who is the ancestor of all of that name in the county of Herkimer. Another daughter was the wife of John Cristman, who is the ancestor of all of that name in the county. And another daughter was the wife of George Hilts, and he is the ancestor of all of that name in the county. The old Palatine, Nicholas Feller, gave his lot No. 7 to his daughter, the wife of George Hilts, and it is still in great part owned by his descendants of that name, who are in the fifth line of descent from him.

I will not pursue the subject of individual families among these Palatines further than to say a few words about a family whose name is preserved in the annals of history. I mean the name of Herkimer. John Jost Herkimer is one of the ninety-two persons named in the German Flatts Patent. I am inclined to think that he, too, belonged to the emigration of 1710. The name, however, does not appear in the list of Palatines on the Hudson spelled as we find it in the German Flatts Patent. But none of this family, so far as I have seen their signatures, could write it well. Often some of the letters of the name are left out; sometimes the wrong letters are used; and I have thought it quite probable that the name Kerchmer, as it appears in the list of those who volunteered in the Canada expedition, was intended for Herkimer. If so, it is probable that he came over with the emigration of 1710; otherwise, he came over with the third emigration of Palatines, which was in the autumn of 1722. But whichever way it is, his name was handed in with the others for a share of the land selected on the Mohawk; and lot No. 36, on the south side of the river, was assigned to him. This lot is a little east of the old stone church, which is upon lot No. 30. Here he lived for many years, and until his children had grown up. He then moved upon a lot a little to the west of the stone church, where he built a substantial house of stone, which was afterwards made into a fort, and was called Fort Herkimer, and was used as such for the defense of the settlement during the French and Indian war, and also during the war of the Revolution. Opposite to where this house was built and fort stood, there is a large island in the river, which was owned by him, and which to this day goes by the name of Herkimer Island. It is said that the second son of John Jost Herkimer, whose name was Hendrick, or Henry, was the first white child born on the German Flatts Patent. This son was the grandfather of the venerable Timothy Herkimer, who resides near the foot of Schuyler Lake, on lands which were owned and occupied by his grandfather before the Revolutionary war.

As to this old Palatine, he was no less prominent in the settlement than his neighbor on the north side of the river, John Jost Petri. He was an active man, and was prosperous and accumulated a large estate. He had less education than Petri, and I doubt if he had the address and business qualifications of Petri, but nevertheless he was a leader among these people, and he and his family had great prominence in the settlement. The records of the old stone church show that he was a ruling spirit in it. His

son, the General, lived with him at Fort Herkimer until 1760. At that time the family had special prominence in the Mohawk valley, and was wealthy and influential, outstripping in this respect the Petri family. This old patriarch had a large family. His children numbered five sons and eight daughters. The latter married leading and influential citizens of the valley, among whom were the Rev. Abraham Rosecrantz and Hendrick Frey. The sons took an active part in the stirring events of the Revolution; and the name of Herkimer has been made historical by the patriotic services, bravery and heroic death of General Nicholas Herkimer, who was the eldest son of John Jost. This old Palatine died in 1775, leaving a will which is on file in the office of the Clerk of the Court of Appeals. It is an interesting document. In it he disposes of a large estate, including negro slaves.

There are no descendants of his by the name of Herkimer remaining in Herkimer county; but there are many descendants of his bearing other names, not only in Herkimer, but elsewhere. Among his descendants is Utica's distinguished townsman, the Hon. Roscoe Conkling. Judge John Herkimer, who lived in the present town of Danube, on lands which belonged to General Herkimer, was a grandson of John Jost, and he was a Member of Congress, elected from the Herkimer District in 1822. No other of the family of that name after the struggle of the Revolution ever occupied any public position in the county, so far as I am able to ascertain. But, as I have said, the name is preserved in the annals of history, and it will be handed down to posterity as a name honored and to be honored. This Society has in charge the grateful duty of erecting to the memory of a brave son of this old Palatine an enduring monument on the bloody field of Oriskany where he sacrificed his life for his country. That duty I know will be most faithfully performed.

Sir William Johnson had frequent occasion to call on these Palatines to assist him in matters connected with the public service in the valley of the Mohawk, and on the frontiers. He knew them well; and, deeming it a military necessity to have a road direct to Oswego from their village, on the 22d day of July 1756 he addressed a letter to John Jost Herkimer and John Jost Petri, jointly, at the German Flatts, requesting them to cut out the road to Oswego through the Six Nations, as he expressed it, saying he would like to see them, and arrange for the work and the compensation. The answer to Sir William's request is an interesting document, and as it throws some light on the situation of affairs in this valley at that time, and

gives also some idea of the character of these people, I will give it here—first calling attention to the fact that it purports to be the answer, not only of Petri and Herkimer but of Conrad Frank, who was also one of the leading spirits among the Palatines and a near neighbor of Herkimer. The original of this letter may be found among the unpublished Johnson Papers in the State Library at Albany, and is as follows:

"Hon'd Sir: We had the honor of yours of the 22d ultimo, about laying out a road from here to Oswego through the Six Nations: and as for my part, Han. Jost Petri, I am old and lame in one of my hips, and it is not in my power to undertake any such fatigue. And for me, John Jost Herkimer, I dare not leave my house upon account of the military, for they tyrannize over me as they think proper, for the commanders use me as ill as the common soldiers. In short they take a prerogative power in their hands, not only by infesting my house and taking up my rooms at pleasure, but take what they think necessary of my effects for their own use without asking. And if such doings be allowed to go on, not only must I and my family suffer, but also all my neighbors.

And as for my part, Conrad Frank, it is impossible for me to undertake it, upon account of soldiers, bateaux men and sailors, &c., for my house every day is full either of one sort or another; and within this short time has suffered considerable by the soldiers under Captain Harris' command, for they not only used my house as they thought proper, but likewise took whatever of my live cattle they thought proper for their use, without either asking liberty or paying me for their value. And supposing I should undertake such a thing and leave my house as matters stand in at present, I must, I imagine, never to see my wife or children again. And, notwithstanding all the endeavors one and all of us have made, we could not find any one proper person that would undertake such a piece of work. And although one and all of us would be ready and willing to do anything that would tend to his majesty's service or the good of our country, yet, as matters stand, we must be excused.

We remain, with due respect, Hon'd Sir, your Honor's most obedient and humble servants.

John Jost Hercheimer,
John Conrad Frank."

For what reason John Jost Petri did not sign this letter I will not undertake to express an opinion here. His excuse was that he was old and lame. I will say however that the road was cut out, and that it was done by Captain Marcus Petri, who was the oldest son of John Jost.

I must not pursue this subject any farther at this time.

From what I have said, it can, I think, be easily understood what kind of people these Palatines were, and why they came to the valley of the upper Mohawk, and why they prospered so well after they came. For thirty years after they settled upon

these lands, they were not disturbed by wars or rumors of war. During this long interval of repose, their comforts and stores of wealth increased, and amidst the accumulated blessings by which they were surrounded, the sad memories of their former sufferings were almost forgotten. They had good homes and good lands, and they were a prosperous, a happy and a united people. Common dangers and a common interest kept them together. They had one faith and worshiped at the same altar. This repose and to them most happy exemption from the horrors of war, were not destined to continue. The French and Indian war at last came, and the torch and tomahawk did fearful work, and rendered them again poor and wretched. This was in 1757; and before they could fairly recover from the losses and the griefs occasioned by this war, the tragic scenes of the Revolution were enacted. These wars, on account of the exposed situation of the Palatines in this then distant frontier, brought untold miseries on them again. The valley of the Mohawk was several times scourged with fire and sword, and to the torch were added the tomahawk and scalping-knife, and they were again and again most cruelly scourged by enemies who did not spare even the infant in the cradle.

Passing over the events which occurred in the valley of the Mohawk during two wars, in which these Palatines suffered so much in the defense of their country and their homes, I will simply say that they came out of them poor and almost crushed in spirit. They suffered much; many of them were driven away from their homes never to return, and many were killed. They had again and again lost their all, save their naked lands and their patriotism. Their fertile fields, except in the immediate vicinity of the forts, were turned into a wilderness.

My narrative ends here, and I will only add that soon after the war of the Revolution emigration set in rapidly from the New England States, and the unoccupied lands on the Mohawk, and the high lands north and south of the river, were taken up by an enterprising and a more ambitious class of people; and in the race for supremacy the Palatines were left in the rear, which position they and their descendants still maintain. The public affairs and political control of the valley soon passed into the hands of the Yankees, as they were called, who monopolized the business of trade and politics; and this position they still maintain as against the descendants of that hardy race of people who first broke the soil in the valley of the upper Mohawk.

ISAAC PARIS.

MEMORIAL SERVICES ON HIS REINTERMENT.

At Paris, October 1, 1880.

The old burial ground at Fort Plain, in which were the remains of Colonel Isaac Paris, the benefactor of the early settlers in Oneida county, having been superseded by a new cemetery, the opportunity was presented to the citizens of the town gratefully named after him, of rendering a further tribute to his memory.

The following correspondence authorized the proposed removal:

Fort Plain, September 21, 1880.

J. V. H. Scovill, Esq., Chairman:

My Dear Sir:—Our Board of Trustees of the village of Fort Plain fully consent as far as is in their power to the removal of the remains of the late Colonel Isaac Paris from our old Sand Hill Cemetery to the town of Paris, which will doubtless duly preserve them and ever hold in kind remembrance his name and his generous acts.

But little interest has of late years been manifested in the care and preservation of our old cemetery, as most of the bodies have long since been transferred to our new one. Hence the propriety of this removal; and we also feel assured that an appropriate monument will be erected by your town to the memory of your early friend and benefactor, and to commemorate his virtues and your gratitude for his beneficence. Much regretting that my engagements will prevent my being present at your memorial services, I remain, Respectfully yours,

David G. Hackney,
President of the Village of Fort Plain.

To the Hon. Lorenzo Rouse, Rev. William Cook, Rev. J. B. Wicks and other Members of the Committee of Arrangements:

Gentlemen:—I desire, on behalf of myself and family, to thank you for the respect, nay, tender feeling, shown to the memory of our deceased relative, Isaac Paris, and for the memorial services which you have arranged to take place at Paris on October 1. My friend, the Hon. Charles W. Hutchinson, some time since informed me of the ruinous condition of the cemetery at

Fort Plain, and of your generous offer to dedicate a plot in your cemetery for the interment of the remains of Isaac Paris. I communicated this intelligence to the different members of my family, and they all agreed that your kind proposal should be accepted. We are pleased to think that the remains of Colonel Paris will soon rest among those who love and loved his memory so well. Thanking you again, gentlemen, for the time and trouble you have devoted to this matter, and assuring you that I will be present at the services, I remain, Your obedient servant,

IRVING PARIS.

31 Pine street, New York city, September 28, 1880.

The exercises of the day were under the direction of the following committee: Hon. Lorenzo Rouse, Marshall; Rev. William Cook, Rev. J. B. Wicks, Colonel I. L. Addington, D. C. Addington, J. V. H. Scovill, Charles Seymour, F. Simmonds, J. E. Head, O. D. Head, Paris Hill; F. P. Drew, J. M. Porter, S. W. Smith, W. S. Bartlett, Joseph Avery, Prof. Edward North, James Hanchett, Kirkland; George Peck, Amos Osburn, O. B. Gridley, Rev. B. F. Willoughby, Eli Avery, Henry Barnett, William Mould, Marshall.

At 2 P. M. the Old Utica Band played an appropriate air in front of St. Paul's Church, which called the people of the village of Paris together. The services were opened in St. Paul's Church by the rector, Rev. J. B. Wicks, his assistant, Rev. William Cook, Rev. Charles H. Gardner, of Trinity Church, Utica, and Rev. J. H. Lemon, of Clark's Mills, taking part. Rev. Mr. Gardner read the opening service, Rev. J. H. Lemon the creed, and Rev. Mr. Cook the psalter. The music was by the choir of the church. At the close of the services a hymn was sung, and Rev. Mr. Wicks introduced Hon. Charles W. Hutchinson, of Utica, Vice President of the Oneida Historical Society.

MR. HUTCHINSON'S ADDRESS.

As a member of the Oneida Historical Society, when requested to present to you an outline of the Paris family, I could not refuse to embody such events in consideration of their honorable historic record, as well as of the generous act of one of them, which is now to be commemorated by the descendants of those early settlers who were the recipients of his bounty. I ask your attention

to the prominent events in which they were active participators. The traditional history of the family of Paris, from which your town derived its name, records the fact that three brothers Paris emigrated from Strasburg in Alsace to America, about the year 1737. One of them settled in Georgia, one in Pennsylvania and the third at Stone Arabia, in the town of Palatine, in the province of New York. Here he engaged in establishing one of the largest and most important stores and trading posts west of Schenectady. It was situated about two miles northeasterly of the Mohawk river at Fort Plain, and was located upon the site now occupied by the farm-house of John Gremps, and was stockaded and known as Fort Paris during the Revolutionary war. By the courtesy of Hon. Samuel Earl, of Herkimer, the Oneida Historical Society has become possessed of one of his original written advertisements, unusually well written, and which is of sufficient interest to present in full:

ADVERTISEMENT.

"Just imported from London and to be sold by the subscriber Isaac Paris, at his house in Stonearabia—A large Assortment of European Goods, viz: Black and Blue Persian; Silk Damascas, Silk Venetian Poplin; Fine Cloth and Blue Sagathy; Chints; Printed Cotton; French Cambric; French Clear Lawn; British Sheeting; Russia Sheeting; German Oznaburg; Black Callimanco; Black Silk fringed Handkerchiefs; Men's and Women's 3, thd white-Thread Stockings; Men's brown ditto; Men's Cotton Stockings; Men's Random Thread Stockings; Black ripp'd Worsted hose; Black and figured Ribbons; Tea Kettles; Men's and Women's Buckles; Pistol Cap'd Knives; Castorbatts; powder; Shot of various sort; Horncombs; Yvory combs; Writing paper—Also, New York Rum; Loaf and Muscovadoe Sugar; and likewise a Large Assortment of pewter work and French Blankets with Sundry Articles too tedious to enumerate, Which he will sell by Wholesale or Retail, on very cheap and the lowest terms, in cash, or (if required) for credit, or any merchantable Country produce."

ISAAC PARIS.

We have reason to believe from records of Capt. John Eisenlord, who was a clerk in the store of Mr. Paris, that this advertisement was written about the year 1770.

Young Eisenlord, at a meeting held on the 26th day of August, 1775, for the election of officers for a company of militia for the precinct of North Germantown, was elected captain, with John Kayser first lieutenant, Adam Bellinger second lieutenant, and John Sorneth ensign. He was afterwards promoted major. We shall have occasion again to speak of him. The paper above copied was formerly in the possession of the late Rev. W. B. Van Ben-

schoten, pastor of the Reformed Churches in Stone Arabia and Ephratah, who was also in possession of a subscription list for the maintenance of the fifth minister of the Stone Arabia Reformed Church, which was in the same handwriting as the advertisement, and is of sufficient interest to present in this connection. It reads as follows:

WHEREAS, this Eighth Day of June in the Twelfth Year of His Majesty's Reign, King George the Third, &c., anno Domini one thousand seven hundred and seventy-two, is unanimously concluded and agreed by US, the subscribed Members of the Congregation of the Reformed Church of Stonearaby, in the County of Tryon and province of N. York, to call a Minister of the Gospel for our said Congregation of Stonearaby, and to keep him for a Yearly Salary and other Convenient and necessary maintainances as hereafter expressed;

We Therefore jointly and each of us in particular to ourselves our heirs, executors and administrators, do hereby in Consideration of such Divine Service, promise and agree to pay, or cause to be paid unto the respective Churchwardens of our Congregation, and their Successors, for a Yearly Salary to our Minister, from the Day of the Date of the Calling of such Minister, Yearly and every Year the Respective sum and sums of Money, N. York Currency, as is hereunto specified and to our Names annexed, to be paid quarterly the proportional share and due of the said Yearly Money hereby granted; AND Concerning the other Maintainances that each of us shall and will Yearly and every Year, during the service of said Minister, cut and carry in due season Two Loads of Firewood before the dwelling house of the Minister, and also cut and split the same to pieces, in fire length in the house yard of said Minister, if desired.

And also that we jointly and severally shall and will make, repair, amend, keep up and hold in good order, all the necessary Fences and Buildings upon our Church Land, and to cut, carry and lay up the fence loggs, and to do wilfully all other needful, accidentall works concerning and upon the said Land and Buildings directly on Request, Directions and Command of our said Churchwardens, without delay, neglect or refusal, &c., &c., &c.

To which among the other fifty-seven subscribers, and at the head of the list, appears the name of Hon. Isaac Paris for five pounds sterling, an amount more than double any other subscription attached thereto.

It may be of interest to state that this church was founded about the year 1729, and that the first missionary pastor was the Rev. Johan Jacob Ehle,* who remained in charge until the

* This Pastor who signed himself John Jacob Oel, was a "Priest in the English Church," the testimonials of which are still in the possession of the family, written upon parchment in Latin and read as follows:

By these presents, We John, by Divine Permission Bishop of London, make known to all persons, that on this 12th day of August A. D. 1722, at the

year 1742, when he was succeeded by the Rev. Johannes Schuyler, under whose pastorate the church was first regularly organized in the year 1743. He officiated until the year 1751, when he was succeeded by the Rev. John A. Wernig, whose ministry terminated in the year 1758, and his successor was the Rev. Abram Rosenkrantz, whose wife was a sister of General Nicholas Herkimer. He remained in charge until the year 1770. The Rev. Mr. Leppins succeeded him, until 1777. Rev. Mr. Kennipe was pastor from 1784 to 1788. The Rev. D. C. A. Peck from 1788 to 1796, and the Rev. Johan Daniel Gross from 1796 to 1802.

The new church was erected in 1788. The old one was burned by the Indians October 20, 1780, as was also the church of the same denomination on the other side of the river, the German Reformed Church at Fort Plain, commonly known as "The Old Sand Hill Church," and from whose burial ground the remains of Colonel Isaac Paris were removed.

These churches were destroyed by the expedition of Sir John Johnson, of tories and Indians, the latter being led by Captain Joseph Brant and John, the Cornplanter.

In this connection we copy the three sections of the agreement for the erection of the Old Palatine Lutheran Church (at Palatine church.)

1. The bowmasters or managers of this church building till finished conveniently, according to the majority of our votes. Peter Waggoner, Andrew Reeber and Christian Nellis, Jr.

2. The respective sums of money hereafter of each of us promised shall be paid, or cause to be paid, unto the said bowmasters, or either of them, on demand to satisfy the costs and expenses of the said building.

3. If in case the said church building, with the appurtenances could not be finished with the money hereby promised: Then we, and each of us, our

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Chapel within our Palace at Fulham, in the County of Middlesex, We, the aforesaid John, Bishop as aforesaid, representing by the help of Almighty God, the Holy Orders, have admitted, and promoted John Jacob Ehle, beloved by us in Christ Jesus, a scholar, abundantly commended to us, as laudable in life, unblemished in morals and virtue, skilled in the knowledge and study of good letters, and sufficiently entitled, and moreover examined and approved, by our own examiner, to the sacred order of Presbyter, according to the custom and rite wisely appointed and provided for in this part of the English Church, and him we did, then and there, ritually and canonically ordain Presbyter.

In testimony whereof, we have caused to be affixed to these presents, the seal of our Episcopate, according to the day and year aforesaid, and in the ninth year of our translation. Signed,

JOHN, London.

heirs and each of our heirs shall and will direct and pay to the same want and use, further a certain sum and sums of money, as much as the substance of each will allow, at such a time when demanded of the said bowmasters.

Following were thirty signatures. Peter Waggoner for fifty pounds; Andrew Reeber, Christian Nellis, Jr., and Hendrick W. Nellis for twenty-five pounds; John Eisculord, four pounds, and twenty-five other signers, for the total sum of two hundred and twenty-five pounds sterling.

The following is "a copy of the record made of the time and the building of the Lutheran Stone church in Palatine." Erected August 18, 1770. The names of the proprietors and the sums by each paid, are as follows, to wit:

	Paid.		*Paid.*
Peter Waggoner,	£100	Johannis Nellis,	£60
Andrew Reeber,	60	Henry Nellis,	60
William Nellis, Jr.,	60	Christian Nellis,	60
Andrew Nellis,	60	Daniel Nellis,	60
Johannis Hess,	60		

And William Nellis, the father of William, Andrew, Johannis and Henry Nellis, paid for the making of the spire, &c., to the steeple of said church.

I will read a curious copy of a subscription for the compensation of a minister of this church, of a later date:

"Know all men by these presents, that we the subscribers, am hald and firmly bound unto the said Drusteis of the Lutern Church in Palatine for ever third Sontay to pay him twenty-five pounds currency yearly from the First of September in the year of Our lort 1797, and to Find him the third of the Firewood and likewise the Fansing and twenty skippels of Whead Yearly."

Signed, 47 signatures for money and 15 for "skipels whead" and "loads of wood." £24 14 shillings in money and 17 skipels of wheat and 17 loads of wood were subscribed.

The early history of the Reformed and Lutheran churches of the Mohawk valley and the colonial records bring the histories of such men as Hon. Isaac Paris, Hon. John Frey, Colonel Peter Wagner and others into prominence, proving their familiar intercourse and united action in public affairs. And there is also substantially proved by their earnest efforts and liberal contributions, their great interest in providing suitable structures for public religious worship, and the maintenance of their pastors, or dominies, as familiarly called.

The following records, copied from the family record of the Paris family, is curiously quaint and is of historic interest:

I Isaac Paris and Catharine my wife were joined together in the Holy Bands of Matrimony by the Rev Mr Ehl Minz of the Gospel at Cannajoharry in the County of Albany and Province of New York North America March 28 1758.

Sept 26 1759—Was born my son Peter and was baptised by the Rev Mr Lappius. Sponsors Mr John Thrier and his spouse.

Dec 25 1761—Was born my 2d son Isaac and was baptised the succeeding New Years Day by the Rev Mr Rosencrantz. Sponsors Mr Ludwig Feil and spouse.

Febry 7 1766—Was born my daughter Margaret and was baptised by the Rev Mr Rosencrantz. Sponsors Mr Conrad Lepper and spouse.

Dec 17 1767—Was born my 3d son Francis Lewis and was baptised by the Rev Mr Rosencrantz. Sponsors Peter Sutz and spouse.

February 2, 1773—Was born my fourth son, John Daniel, and was baptised by the Rev. Mr. Daniel Gros; sponsors, the said Rev. Mr. Daniel Gros and his spouse.

August 6, 1777—Isaac Paris and Peter Paris, his son, were slain at Oriskany in an action between General Herkimer, commanding the Tryon county militia and Colonel St. Ledger, commanding the British and Indians.

October 5, 1789—Departed this life Margaret Paris.

March 28, 1790—Departed this life Isaac Paris, the younger.

July 14, 1796—Departed this life Francis Paris.

October 1, 1796—John Daniel Paris* was married to Catharine Irving, daughter of William Irving, of the city of New York and have since died.

Upon the time-worn marble slab in the Paris church yard, brought with the remains of Colonel Paris, is plainly inscribed:

"In memory of Isaac, Margaret and Francis Paris. Erected 1806."

The family of John Daniel Paris are the only known lineal descendants of Hon. Isaac Paris.

The high estimation of the character of Hon. Isaac Paris, was fully shown by the many positions of political and honorable trust conferred upon him by his appreciative friends and neighbors, and his whole life was animated by unswerving love and devotion to the interests of his adopted country, during the most critical period of our revolutionary struggle. His property was freely given for patriotic and religious purposes, and although the minor details of his life are yet unwritten, we plainly read a most noble character, worthy of the kindly appreciation and remembrance of the people of the State of New York.

*John Daniel Paris was the first County Clerk of Montgomery County, in the year A. D. 1800. Was also State Senator years 1810-11-12-13, and was also a member of the Council of Appointment.

The first meeting of the Committee of Safety for Tryon County, was held August 27, 1774, at the house of Adam Loucks, at Stone Arabia. Resolutions were adopted and a Committee of Correspondence was chosen, with Christopher P. Yates, Chairman, and Isaac Paris, Peter Wagner, John Frey, Andrew Fink, Jr., Jacob Klock, Christopher W. Fox, George Ecker, Jr., Andrew Reeber, Daniel McDougle and Anthony Van Fechten.

Hon. Isaac Paris, with his friend and neighbor, Lieutenant Colonel Peter Wagner, of Palatine, attended the first general meeting of the committee, held June 2, 1775, at the house of Werner Tygert, in the Canajoharie District, near the upper Indian Castle, west of the Howadaga, now Indian Castle creek, and which was the former home of King Hendrick, "the Dreamer," the Indian friend of Sir William Johnson, and afterwards was the residence of Captain Joseph Brant, immediately previous to his leaving the Mohawk valley, for his last residence at Brantford, near Montreal, in Canada. It was about two miles east of the residence of General Herkimer.

Mr. Paris was also elected a delegate to the second and third Provincial Congress, held in the City of New York, in the years 1775–6–1776, and also to the fourth Congress and Representative Convention for the years 1776–7.

Ebenezer Cox, Chairman *pro tem.* of the Tryon County Committee, writes November 7, 1775: "That John Moore and Isaac Paris were chosen delegates to the Provincial Congress, Mr. Moore being re-elected and Mr. Paris a new member."

Another letter, dated Fishkill, October 24, 1776, (10 o'clock at night,) from John McKesson, Clerk of the Provincial Congress,) was addressed to General Ten Broeck, James Duane and Isaac Paris and other Esquires. (This was the General Committee of Safety, at Albany.)

And a letter respecting Militia Fines, signed Isaac Paris, Chairman, and addressed to the honorable convention of New York, at Fishkill, was dated "Tryon County Committee, January 22, 1777."

He was also elected a member of the first State Senate, held at Kingston, under the constitution of 1777, representing the western district, or the Counties of Albany, Tryon and Ontario.

The culmination of the sacrifices made by this noble and patriotic man for the country of his adoption, was to leave all his family and worldly interests in the charge and keeping of his second son, Isaac, and without a demand for any official rank or position, with

his clerk, Major John Eisenlord, and his elder son, Peter Paris, join the forces of General Herkimer as volunteers in the march to the relief of Fort Stanwix. The two latter were killed at Oriskany, and the Hon. Isaac Paris was taken a prisoner by the enemy on the retreat to Oneida Lake towards Canada. In the memoir of Moses Younglove, surgeon of General Herkimer's brigade, (copied from his original deposition, which is still preserved in the office of the Secretary of State,) is the following:

> That Isaac Paris, Esquire, was also taken the same road without receiving from them any remarkable insult, except stripping, until some Tories came up who kicked and abused him, after which the savages, thinking him a notable offender, murdered him most barbarously.

Of such noble and patriotic parentage and surrounded by the highest examples of devotion and love of country, was the more particular subject of the event we commemorate, Colonel Isaac Paris, who at the death of his father and brother assumed charge of their large interests in the Mohawk valley. His father had purchased in the year 1738 the lands and stone mansion at Fort Plain, built by Lieutenant Governor George Clarke, which building was subsequently demolished on account of its reputation of being haunted, and of its materials a tannery was constructed by Dr. Joshua Webster and Jonathan Stickney, of that village.

Colonel Paris removed from the former residence of his father in Stone Arabia to his lands at Fort Plain about the year 1787, and erected a large mansion and trading post upon the rising ground at the southerly part of the village. Near this building he erected a grist-mill upon the Otsquago creek. It was located about seventy-five feet westerly from the site of the present mill, near the bridge crossing the creek upon the old road from Fort Plain to Cooperstown. This mansion, or "castle" as it is sometimes called, was situated near the Otsquago creek, about half a mile westerly of the great Central Mohawk Indian castle called Tah-ragh-jo-res, from which the Ko-nosh-i-o-ni, or Five Nations, sallied forth upon their predatory expedition to Canada in the year 1762. It was situated upon the great Indian trail to the Susquehanna and Pennsylvania. Following this trail down the creek about three miles to its junction with the Otstongo creek, is located the ancient fortress of the primitive Indians, upon what is now known as Indian Hill, where most interesting relics of primitive construction have been discovered by antiquarians and archæologists and the position of the entrance to the fortress is still easily

to be observed. It has an historic fame among the ancient monuments of America, and for those interested in pre-historic history is well worthy a visit.

The house of Colonel Paris is said to have received as guests many persons distinguished in the historic public events of those times, and among them we note the Indian chief, Captain Joseph Brant, or Thay-en-dan-egea, and his friend, the famous John The Corn-planter, or Gy-ant-wah-chia, whose father, John Abeel, the Indian trader, lived about half a mile northwesterly, near the old fort and not far from the old Sand Hill (Reformed) Church. Colonel Marinus Willett, it is said, when stationed at this fort, married, for his second wife, a daughter of John Abeel. He was also mentioned as a visitor, and also Baron Steuben. This property of Colonel Paris was afterwards sold to Jost Driesback, who was a trumpeter at the battle of Saratoga under Burgoyne. Jost was the father of Herr Jacob Driesback, the famous lion-tamer, who was born in the Paris mansion. During the latter's "professional" visits to Fort Plain, he always called upon Dr. Webster, his father's family physician, together with others of his early friends and acquaintances. Jost sold the property in the year 1805 to Joseph Wagner, the son of Lieutenant Colonel Peter Wagner, the friend and coadjutor of Colonel Paris, and who had been associated with him in many public trusts, and was also with him at the battle of Oriskany, accompanied by two of his sons.

The old Paris mansion is still standing and in a fair state of preservation; but the grist mill was long since demolished.

The latter was the partial source of the supply so freely and benevolently furnished to the early settlers of this town, by Colonel Isaac Paris. The following extract from the Annals of Oneida County, written by Hon. Pomroy Jones, and published in 1851, is worthy a place in the memory of each resident of the County of Oneida. Although frequently heretofore published, no apology is needed for its reappearance in this connection.

"The summer of 1789 was, in one respect, more trying to the settlers than its predecessors. Famine with all its horrors was upon them. The crops of the previous year were insufficient for their own wants, and those of the daily increasing emigrants. The hoarded little stock of flour, and their last year's crop of potatoes were consumed, and the corn and meal were nearly exhausted, while the forthcoming crop was not matured. At planting time such were their straits and their care to husband their limited supply, that the eyes of the potatoes were cut out for planting, and the remainder carefully preserved for the table.

To slaughter their few cattle would be at once to destroy their future prospects, and nothing but the last extremity could have induced them to do so. Money was almost out of the question, and it is believed that if they had been compelled to contribute their all, not enough could have been found to purchase a barrel of flour, even at present prices.

The forests were searched for ground nuts and leeks, the fishing rod put in requisition, and most fortunate was the hunter who succeeded in securing a bear or her cubs, to aid in their extremity. Notwithstanding, children cried for food, and strong men put themselves on a stinted allowance, that the more helpless might be fed. All this did not suffice; something further must be done.

A small party was sent to Fort Plain, Montgomery County, to see if supplies could not there be obtained. At that place resided a large farmer and miller, named Isaac Paris, and to him imploringly they appealed. He responded most liberally; and with a promptness which did honor to his heart, he loaded a small flat boat with flour and meal, and sent it up the Mohawk to the mouth of the Oriskany. Here it was met by a party of the settlers, transhipped into a log canoe of their own construction, and from thence, with the aid of setting poles, paddles and ropes, this "ark of plenty" was taken up the creek as far as the site of the bridge upon the Lairdsville road, and from this landing it was transported in carts, to the settlement. Language is too feeble to describe the rejoicings upon arrival of this timely supply of breadstuffs. Clinton has never before or since witnessed such an overflow of gratitude.

The settlers did not go to Mr. Paris as beggars. Silver and gold had they none; but they had industry and strong hands and arms, and they agreed to pay for the meal and flour in ginseng, to be delivered the next fall. This root, in the early days of Oneida, was a considerable article in commerce. Although our cattle have almost extirpated it from our forests, it was, at that early day, found in great abundance. It was shipped to those countries afflicted with the plague, where it was for a long time considered the best antidote against that disease. In 1792, a new town, including Clinton, was formed from Whitestown, and in gratitude to their benefactor, the name of Paris was given it. The original town of Paris has since been divided, and the town of Kirkland, including Clinton taken from it.

At this time such is the veneration of the name of Paris, that many of the descendants of those who enjoyed his beneficence, although rightfully proud of the name of Kirkland, regret that the name of Paris had not been retained by that portion of the original town, including Clinton."

Colonel Paris was undoubtedly a young man of recognized force of character and intellectual culture, for we find him sent by his constituents to the Assembly, as a member from Tryon County, when he attained the age of but twenty-three years, in the year 1784, and when that county became obsolete, April 2, 1784, he was returned a member from Montgomery County, at the sessions of 1784–5, and 1788.

As heretofore noted, Colonel Paris was born on Christmas day, in the year 1761, and was baptised on the New Year's day follow-

ing—an auspicious birthday for a man whose benevolent action has endeared his memory to the people of this town and the county in which it is located. His life closed in the year 1790, at the age of but twenty-nine years. He died leaving an honorable name, which will be justly handed down for the veneration and grateful memory of your posterity.

"I heard a voice from Heaven saying unto me, write, from henceforth blessed are the dead who die in the Lord, even so saith the Spirit; for they rest from their labors, and their works do follow them."

On leaving the church the assemblage gathered under the shade of the beautiful trees in front of St. Paul's church, where a platform had been erected and seats provided. On the platform were the clergymen, orators, distinguished citizens of the town and invited guests. The assemblage in front of the stage was large and respectable.

Hon. Lorenzo Rouse, president of the day, opened the exercises.

MR. ROUSE'S ADDRESS.

Friends and Fellow Citizens:

We are assembled on this occasion, not to participate in any festival, or for the purpose of any jubilee. Neither are we assembled to celebrate the anniversary of any important era in either the political or civil history of the nation, or of our own locality. The occasion on which we are assembled partakes much more strongly of a serious, or indeed, of a solemn, than of a festive character. We are assembled to show our veneration for the memory, and our consequent respect for the remains of one who furnished to the pioneer settlers of the old town of Paris, the most tangible evidence of his exalted character, not only for humanity of feeling, but for genuine christian charity and benevolence, by ministering to their necessities in the time of their sorest need.

Let us, before proceeding further, premise by saying that we disclaim any intention of giving any sectarian or denominational religious aspect to our proceedings on this occasion. On the contrary we have studiously sought to avoid so doing, for we do not understand that Isaac Paris, in his religious preferences, could be claimed as affiliating very closely with any one of the several re-

ligious denominations, originally established, or now having organization within the limits of the old town which adopted his name. Being of German descent, he is understood to have affiliated more directly with a majority of the German emigrants and their descendants living in his vicinity, at Fort Plain. But, judging from his character, we believe that he would have preferred that some sort of religious exercises should be had on any and every occasion connected with his obsequies.

Neither let it for a moment be supposed that we have any political object in view, for in this regard, we only know that Isaac Paris was a true patriot, and of a patriotic race, for his father and elder brother both laid down their lives fighting for the liberties of their country in 1777.

It is not the purpose of your speaker, on this occasion, to aim at any lofty flights of eloquence, nor to attempt any high eulogium upon the character and merits of him whose remains we are met to reinter; nor even to give a sketch of his biography, except incidentally—for one better prepared has already favored us in that regard. But we shall endeavor to narrate to you a brief, plain and simple statement of facts connected with the early history of the old town of Paris, and to show the connection that Colonel Paris had with that early history—a statement of facts, which from their frequent reiteration, may, perchance, be considered by some as having become somewhat hackneyed and stale, but by others as being eminently worthy to be kept in lasting remembrance by frequent repetition.

The Old Town of Paris.

It is a well-established fact, that the first permanent white settlement in Oneida county was commenced at Whitestown in the early summer of 1784, by Judge Hugh White and his five sons, Daniel C., Joseph, Hugh, Ansel and Philo. He had also three daughters—Rachel, Aurelia and Polly. We will not stop to inquire why he, a man fifty-one years of age, at an age when the ardor and restlessness of youth may be supposed to have, in some degree, subsided—why he should decide to emigrate, with his young family, from old Middletown, on the Connecticut river, so immediately after the close of the revolutionary war, and locate in the unbroken wilderness of this far west, so far from any white settlement and in such close proximity to the untutored and dreaded Indians, many of whom had recently been so hostile. It seems to us passing

strange. Suffice it for us to know that he came and that he effected a permanent settlement, and becoming the owner of a tract of 1,500 acres of most valuable land, he gave his name to a town, which in its extent of territory exceeded that of the present entire county of Oneida, including, among the rest, the whole of what subsequently became the old town of Paris and extended almost indefinitely to the west. Indeed all the country now designated as central New York was for many years known at the east as the "Whitestown country," and was supposed to be the "El Dorado" of the west as the "Genesee country" afterwards was deemed the *Ultima Thule*, all west of that being the *Terra Incognita*, or the unknown land. The fame of the "Whitestown country" soon reached the east, and in 1785 the first clearing to the extent of half an acre of land, was made near the foot of what is now Genesee street, Utica, and in 1786 that settlement contained three log houses. In the following year, 1787, Moses Foot and his three sons, Bronson, Ira and Luther with his son-in-law, Barnabas Pond, and his friends, James Bronson, Luther Blodgett, and Levi Sherman, commenced a settlement near the Oriskany creek, where the village of Clinton, now stands. This was the first settlement made in the territory which originally adopted the name of the town of Paris. A document which was executed soon after this settlement was begun, shows that the place was at first designated as "Coxeborough, in Montgomery county and State of New York." It was, of course, in Whitestown at that time, although the name of the town does not appear in the document. In the following year, 1788, a settlement was commenced in New Hartford, by Jedediah Sanger and others, and during the same season, the settlement at Coxeborough now Clinton, was increased by the addition of about twenty families.

The Present Town.

Early in the spring of 1789 the first settlement of what is now the town of Paris was commenced, about one mile northeasterly from where we are now assembled, by Captain Rice, on the farm now owned by Colonel I. L. Addington. He was followed about the 20th of March of the same season by Benjamin Barnes, Benjamin Barnes, Jr., and John Humaston. This was the commencement of what was known as the South Settlement. In the fall of the same year, Phineas Kellogg came on and built a log house, further to the east, in the vicinity of Sauquoit, or Se-dagh-qua-da, as the Indians then called it. In March, 1790, John Butler,

Sylvester Butler, Asa Shepard and Joseph Plumb came on and located in the same vicinity. Others followed in 1791, and soon after the tide of immigration seemed to turn toward the "Brothertown tract," now in the town of Marshall, and being the southwestern portion of the old town of Paris. The first settler in what was called "Hanover Settlement," now in the town of Marshall, was David Barton, soon followed by Warren Williams, Rev. Hezekiah Eastman, Stephen Barrett, Levi Barker, Captain Simon Hubbard, and the three brothers, Abel, Adam and Aaron Simmons. The first white child born in what is now known as the town of Marshall, was Lester Barker, afterwards known as Colonel Barker, who afterwards removed to Clinton, where he died. The only instance I have been able to find in which a son of one of these original settlers of the old town of Paris has continued to reside on the same premises where his father first located, in the latter part of the last century—thus connecting the past with the present—is that of Marinus Hubbard, living on the road to Waterville, about midway from this place, now at the age of eighty-six, and son of the Captain Simon Hubbard heretofore mentioned as one of our first settlers.

Colonel Paris and Paris.

We have thus reviewed, as succinctly as we were able, the history of the first settlement of the old town of Paris. Let us now explain, as briefly as may be practicable, the connection which Colonel Isaac Paris had with that history, and why we meet, on this occasion, to do honor to his memory. The first pioneers in the town, consisting, as we have seen, of eight families, had enough to do, in the then unbroken wilderness, to provide shelter for their families and the necessary food to sustain life, without accumulating any great surplus for the future. They eked out their subsistence by occasional resorts to the forest and the stream, but added little to any permanent store. The influx of emigration in 1788, as we have seen, quadrupled the population, and their united exertions were insufficient to remove the heavily-timbered forests, clear the land and prepare it in season to cultivate crops sufficient to supply fodder for all. True, an occasional meal of fish assisted, and now and then a rich bearsteak was considered as a God-send. But they found the latter was fully overbalanced by the extreme fondness of the bears for green corn and young pigs, thus too often blasting their anticipations. Although they laid in a good

supply of ground nuts and leeks from the forest, they found their scanty stores rapidly diminishing, so that when planting time came in the spring of 1789, they carefully cut out the eyes of the potatoes for planting, thus reserving the bulk of the tubers for food. For breadstuff they were obliged to resort to the primitive Indian method of using the hominy block, or if fine meal was wanted, to back the grist seven miles through the forest to the nearest mill, which had just been erected at Whitestown. But soon their supply of corn failed them, and they could not wait for their growing crops to mature. The children began to cry for bread, and something must be done to avert starvation. A deputation was accordingly appointed to go, on foot, to the German Flatts, now in Herkimer county, which, although it had been much longer settled, had suffered greatly during the Revolutionary war. The deputation had no money to offer, and could only pledge their credit for the future payment. The cautious German settlers, although sympathizing in their distress, did not deem the security sufficient from those whom they looked upon with suspicion as only a parcel of "treacherous Yankees." Despondent in feeling at their want of success, where they most hoped for it, the deputation passed on to Fort Plain, on the opposite side of the river, where it would seem Providence directed them to a young man, then only twenty-eight years of age, variously termed a farmer, a miller and a merchant, but, as he was a man of means, he probably combined all those branches of business. To him they told their sorrowful tale, and his kind heart at once melted. He answered them that they must have help. But they, recollecting their recent repulse, frankly told him, "Silver and gold have we none, but such as we have we will give unto thee—when we can get it." His prompt answer was, "No matter about the pay. Your women and children must not be permitted to starve. Take what you need to feed them, and if, at any time in the future, you are able to pay for it, it will be well. If you are never able it will also be well, but your families must not be allowed to starve." With the greatest dispatch he proceeded to load a batteau, or flat boat, with flour, meal, and meat, for the needy settlers, and with light hearts and joyous feelings, the deputation eagerly assisted with the use of setting poles, in propelling the boat up the stream to the mouth of the Oriskany creek, where one of their number had already notified the settlers to meet them with canoes of their own construction, and thus they conveyed the provisions up to a point near where the Clinton factory now stands, from whence they were

removed to the settlement with an ox team and distributed among the hungry people. It should be mentioned that it was subsequently agreed and insisted upon by the settlers that the debt for the provisions might and should be paid in the root of the wild ginseng, which at that early day grew abundantly in the forests, and which, from its supposed rare medicinal virtues, was in great demand for exportation to European ports not only, but even to China, where it was considered more valuable than gold. The women and children of the settlement at once set themselves to work to scour the forest and search with avidity for the precious root, and to their credit, be it said, that within a short time a sufficient quantity of it was gathered to liquidate the entire debt.

Within one short year thereafter, the settlers were pained to hear that their kind benefactor had been removed from earth, and called to his last accounting of his stewardship. This was in the year 1790, at his early age of twenty-nine years. But though dead he was not forgotten by those whom he had so kindly befriended. Two years after, in 1792, the settlement had been so much increased, that a separate town organization was applied for and granted, embracing within its limits all of the southern portion of Whitestown.

Named After Its Benefactor.

When the citizens came together to consult and agree on a name for their new township, it was found that they were substantially unanimous in their preference for the name of their deceased benefactor, and Paris became the name of the new organization. Let it be ever perpetuated! I have found that many persons, outside of the place, err greatly as to the origin of the name, supposing it to have been adopted from that of the chief city of France. This mistake is an innocent one for him who has observed how prone are the citizens of our different localities to endeavor to give a sort of factitious importance for these localities, by giving to them either high-sounding, classical names, or the more modern names of foreign cities or places of importance. Thus we have gained a modern Troy, an Ilion, a Utica, a Rome, a Syracuse and an Ithaca. Thus we have also a New England, a New Scotland, a New York, a New London, a New Berlin, a New Brunswick, a New Hamburg and a New Lisbon, besides a multitude of others, which omit the prefix. But the early settlers of the old town of Paris, and their descendants, seem to have acted on a different principle in their selection of names for their several localities, to wit: a laudable

desire to perpetuate the name of some worthy individual. Thus Paris and Kirkland and Marshall gained their names, with Whitestown on the north and Sangerfield on the south. Thus Hamilton College gained its name from the eminent statesman who was among its first trustees and patrons. Thus Clinton gained its name from Governor George Clinton, who, at one time, in company with General Washington, owned real estate in sight of the village and in its vicinity. Thus, while Kirkland has her Clinton and her Franklin, Paris has her Clayville and her Cassville, Marshall has her Deansville and her Dicksville.

It may very naturally be asked, why have the remains of Colonel Isaac Paris been exhumed, and why are they brought hither for reinterment? To these questions we reply, to the first, that at the time of his death, less care and attention and forethought was given to the selection of burial places while the country was new, than there is at present. In consequence, new cemeteries have often been located. In process of time, it seemed necessary to renew the place of burial at Fort Plain, where he and others of his day were buried. It was deemed desirable, therefore, that the remains buried there should be removed to some other place, lest all vestiges of their place of deposit should become obliterated and forgotten. The grave of Isaac Paris was found among the number. The idea occurred to some thoughtful persons that it would be a fitting thing to offer those remains to the citizens of Paris, to be deposited within the limits of the town which bears his name. His only surviving kindred consenting, the offer was accepted, and the act of re-burial is now about to be consummated. But why bury them here? In answer, we say, it seemed desirable that the place of deposit should be at some point as near as practicable to the center of the old town to which his name was originally given. It seemed fitting that his remains should be deposited within the limits of the town which still bears, and in all human probability will continue to bear his name. It seemed fitting that their final resting place should be in the village which aids in perpetuating his memory, not only by its own name, but by the name which its post office has always borne: the suffix Hill being no part of the proper name, but merely a surplusage, added by outsiders, to distinguish between the village and the town. As to why we have selected a particular location, we answer, that it appeared to the committee having the matter in charge, to be the most eligible one obtainable. Had Colonel Paris been the donor of the public green to the public, then, perhaps,

there might have been a sort of propriety in depositing his remains on that ground. But that ground was given to the public by another and for a specific purpose, by the terms of the conveyance, and to appropriate it, or any portion of it, to cemetery purposes, might, perchance, vitiate the title, of the validity of which we do not feel called upon now to speak. From what we can learn of Colonel Paris, we feel assured that his preference would have been that his remains should be deposited in grounds specially set apart and consecrated for burial purposes, where they would be under the constant care of some organized corporation, and not deposited on common or public grounds, under the special charge of nobody in particular, and liable to be again disturbed in the future. With the subject of a monument to the deceased, its fashion or its cost, or the place of its location, the committee claims no special powers, its duties ceasing with the interment. But let us hope that those honored remains will ever hereafter be permitted to rest in peace, until the last great trumpet shall sound, and until the archangel shall appear, and proclaim that Time shall be no more, and until the earth and the sea shall be required to yield up their dead.

ADDRESS BY PROFESSOR EDWARD NORTH.

The true American rejoices in whatsoever tends to dethrone the old world's heresy, that republican communities are ungrateful. It satisfies our idea of the fitness of things and our sense of gratitude that the bones of Isaac Paris should finally rest in the soil of Paris Hill. So it satisfied the Greek idea of national gratitude that the bones of Theseus, their hero king, should be welcomed home from Scyros with a grand dramatic festival, and be reburied in the heart of Athens, that

> "Dear city of man without master or lord,
> Fair fortress and fostress of sons born free,
> A wonder enthroned on the hills and the sea."

It is true, as has been already stated, that the timely supplies sent by Isaac Paris ninety-one years ago, were received by pioneers who had built their log-cabins in the valley six miles below, near the banks of the Oriskany. Could the votes of these pioneers of Clinton be taken to-day, with the votes of their descendants—the Benedicts, the Blanchards, the Blodgets, the Brockways, the Bristols, the Bronsons, the Bulleins, the Butlers, the Carpenters, the Casseteys, the Cooks, the Curtises, the Deweys, the Foots, the

Gleasons, the Gridleys, the Hubbards, the Kirklands, the Langfords, the Marshes, the Millards, the Nortons, the Ponds, the Sandfords, the Shermans, the Stebbinses, the Tuttles—could the voices of these numerous living and far-scattered descendants be telephoned to us this afternoon, it need not be doubted they would decide that the bones of Isaac Paris should sleep with those who have loyally and gratefully clung to the name of their early benefactor. Let him sleep, they might say, where his monument can look down upon the valley and the Oriskany, even as

> "The mountains look on Marathon,
> And Marathon looks on the sea."

The town of Kirkland is not grasping and not unreasonable. It had another benefactor in the far-seeing, great-hearted missionary who created a larger local indebtedness and placed his name with those the world will not willingly let die, by planting a college fortress for "the kingdom of the Blessed Redeemer" on the opposite hillside. This child of prayer and faith has proved to be not only a fountain of intelligence and culture, but a magnet for drawing in good families and perennial income from surrounding counties. Whatever of distinction and interest Paris Hill may gain from the historic grave that is covered to-day and the historic monument that ought to attract many pilgrims in future years, the town of Kirkland will make no envious or unfraternal complaint. In fact, Kirkland has taken time by the forelock and achieved its satisfaction in advance, through its inveterate habit of recruiting its population from the best blood of Paris Hill. Like many other rural districts, to which the latest census is a rhymeless elegy, Paris Hill has been a *nutrix leonum*, a prolific nursery of heroes for the battles of business, of enterprise and professional skill.

Not content with seeing the conflicts at a safe distance, after buckling their armor on, the sons of Paris Hill have slipped down into the waiting valleys by a law of gravitation for which the town of Kirkland can not be held accountable. No sooner was Kirkland organized into a separate township, than it began to receive volunteer recruits from its eastern neighborhood. Henry McNiel and Theophilus Steele—both men of the Puritan type and granite integrity—set an example that was afterwards followed by others equally worthy. Other villages and distant cities have had stout reinforcements from the same prolific mother. The good names of Handy and Head and Bartlett have taught the

world how wealth honestly won can be wisely and generously used. Yes, we of the Oriskany valley and the hillside beyond are deeply in debt to Paris Hill. We would return thanks for the morning sunlight, both physical and social, that comes to us from our unselfish neighbor. Were we only Greeks, we might easily coax our Homer into singing of "rosy-fingered Aurora, daughter of Paris Hill." The thousands of jocund daybreaks that have greeted us from our near eastern horizon, the cherished memories that run to and fro along "the old Line of Property," the hallowed graves of our common ancestry, are ties of sympathy "stronger than hooks of steel," and we heartily rejoice in the new bond that henceforth holds us in still closer attachment and fellowship.

We are not here this Friday afternoon to receive Sabbath instruction, but there is a sermon for us, full of tenderest teaching, in the simple act of generosity and trust that makes the bones of Isaac Paris a priceless deposit in the soil ennobled by his name. This sermon, soon to be a century old, repeats the voice of that older, diviner sermon on the mount, "Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy." The name of Isaac Paris comes to us as that of a square-dealing, kindly farmer and miller, whose father and brother had given their lives to their country on the Oriskany battle-field. To him the Oriskany was another Acheron, "a woeful river." Possibly that cry of distress from dwellers on the banks of the Oriskany, so soon after his father's and brother's death, came to him like a voice from eternity, with a pathos even deeper than that one touch of nature that makes the whole world kin. Call it a shrewd business transaction if you will, an exchange of meal for ginseng, it was the shrewdness of one who lends to the Lord, by lending without any earthly security to distant suffering strangers.

Isaac Paris was not an ambitious man, yet he is laureled to-day with spontaneous homage which thousands have selfishly toiled for and died without winning. It is not true that the good men do "is oft interred with their bones." God never permits that a good deed or a kind word should be wasted. On this golden afternoon in October, when the "valleys are covered over with corn and the paths drop fatness," we are all conscious of having larger, warmer hearts to-day, because we feel the sweet, soft sunshine of a remembered charity that brought joy to our starving pioneers ninety-one years ago.

When the time comes to erect a monument over the grave of Isaac Paris—whether it be this year, or next year, or in 1889—there will be cheerful contributions from hill-top and valley. And when the monument is ready for its inscription, what better can be found, outside of Holy Writ, than to copy from England's greatest poet:

> "The quality of mercy is not strained.
> It falleth as the gentle rain from heaven
> Upon the place beneath. It is twice blest,
> It blesseth him that gives and him that takes."

One good deed often gives inspiration for another. After this day's memorial has been completed, an effort should be made to find the lost grave of Rev. Samson Occum, whose fame as a fervid Indian preacher lives in the early history and traditions of Oneida county. It is recorded that in 1786, one year before the first white emigrants settled in Clinton, Samson Occum, like another Moses, led out a colony of Indians from New England and Long Island, and found a new home for them on the banks of the Oriskany, within what is now the town of Marshall. Here they lived for half a century or more, until they were transferred to Green Bay, under the direction of Thomas Dean, of Deansville.

The story of Samson Occum's life has never been fully written. Born near Norwich, Conn., in 1723, educated in Dr. Wheelock's Indian school in New Lebanon, Conn., he was ordained as a preacher by the Presbytery of Suffolk, Long Island, in 1759. He spent eighteen months in England, where he preached over three hundred sermons, and collected £10,000 for the schooling of American Indians. King George III was so delighted with one of the Indian orator's sermons that he gave him a library and a gold-headed cane. He was a poet as well as an orator and a leader. One of his hymns, to be found in Hasting's Church Melodies,

> "Awaked by Sinai's awful sound,"

is often sung by church choirs, without a thought of its Indian origin.

I am indebted to a grandson of one of Clinton's pioneers, Dr. Asabel Norton Brockway, of New York, for a letter which Rev. Samson Occum sent home to his two daughters, while he was in England. It seems to be an Indian father's playful effort to interest a pair of little girls.

"*My Dear Mary and Esther:*

Perhaps you may query whether I am well. I came from home well, was by the way well, got over well, am received at London well, and am treated extremely well—yea, I am caressed too well. And do you pray that I may be well, and that I may do well, and in time return home well. And I hope you are well, and wish you well, and as I think you began well, so keep on well, that you may end well, and then all will be well. And so farewell.

SAMSON OCCUM."

The style of this letter ought not to be severely criticised. It was not written for publication or for a memorial service. It is a noticeable fact that Samson Occum died in 1792, the year in which the township of Paris was taken from Whitestown, and organized under its present name. The place of his burial can not now be told. Rev. A. D. Gridley's history of Kirkland states that Samson Occum died in Stockbridge, in July, 1792, but says nothing of the place of burial. Judge Jones has reasons for thinking that he died and was buried in the Indian orchard, in Vernon, on land formerly owned by Hendrick Smith, a half-civilized Indian, who removed to Green Bay.

Others remembering how closely his life was linked with the Brothertown Indians, suppose that he sleeps in Deansville, in one of those unmarked and neglected Indian graves, which "implore the passing tribute of a sigh." There has been sad neglect somewhere. Other researches remain for ex-Mayor Hutchinson and the Oneida Historical Society. Schenandoa has his monument near to that of his christian teacher, in the college cemetery, and it is to be hoped that the enthusiasm so apparent in this day's exercises, will keep itself alive and at work, until a permanent inscription, in granite or marble, rescues from dumb forgetfulness, not only the last resting-place of Isaac Paris, but also that of his companion in our county's early history, Rev. Samson Occum.

HON. THEODORE W. DWIGHT'S ADDRESS.

Whitestown, Kirkland, Clinton, Hamilton and Paris! These are some of the names that characterize the subduing and civilizing influence of man, in one of the finest agricultural regions in the world. The early settlers in this region had the judgment and good sense permanently to stamp these picturesque hills and smiling valleys with the names of the most eminent citizens of their own locality and State. They did not go to Africa, searching in its broad morasses for a buried Utica; they did not look to Italy,

to borrow, ludicrously, the names of its Rome and Verona, nor delve in Sicily, for an extinct Syracuse. Instead of all this, they chose their representative men, each showing forth in his own special way, the vigor and beauty of the highest type of their life; Kirkland symbolizing their aggressive faith and civilizing zeal, Clinton and Hamilton their assured hope for the stability of their political institutions and their coming glory, White their force as leading the great army of pioneers still moving in endless procession, and Paris representing their christian charity. Thus are we championed; there still abideth among us, faith, hope and charity. Kirkland was indeed a wonderful man, and made a great impression on his contemporaries. Governor Livingston, of New Jersey, said of him, in a public letter in 1768, while Kirkland was yet a young man, "that for three years past, with indefatigable industry and sometimes at the peril of his life, he has been propagating the christian faith among the tribes of the Six Nations." We all know how, in later life, his views widened so as to embrace the education and culture of our entire population. Of Paris, I know but little. I imagine him to have been an earlier Peter Cooper, with flowing locks and benevolent countenance and guileless disposition, successful as a merchant, and at the same time with open hand distributing his gains for the public good. His act of kindness that we celebrate to-day, though like a farthing light in the great blaze of charity that now illuminates the world, is of a warm and penetrating beam.

> "How far this little candle throws his beams!
> So shines a good deed in a naughty world."

But good Mr. Paris did not intend to pauperize the objects of his benevolence. He knew that a dependence by them on the gifts of the charitable would be the ruin of all manly and honest endeavor. Accordingly, he made them stipulate that they should pay him the next year in ginseng root, and I presume he received his compensation in overflowing measure.

A lesson can be learned from the traffic in this root, and from its influence on the Indians and the early settlers. Jonathan Edwards, the elder, the great theologian, who essayed to unravel the mysteries of the human will and to analyze and combine the persons of the divine Trinity, had another and more lovable side to his character. He was a zealous missionary to the Indian tribes, and though laboring among the Stockbridge Indians in Massachusetts, he knew well what affected them all and their

interests in this part of the country. He particularly deprecated the effect of the search for "ginseng," upon the Six Nations. Writing in 1752, he says: "Some things have happened which have much prejudiced the cause of religion among the Indians, and among other things, the discovery of the famous tartarian root called 'ginseng,' which was found in our woods last summer, and is since found in the woods in many of these western parts of New England and in the country of the Six Nations. The traders in Albany have been eager to purchase all that they could of this root to send to England, where they make great profit by it. This has occasioned our Indians of all sorts, young and old, to spend abundance of time in wandering about the woods and sometimes to a great distance, in the neglect of public worship *and of their husbandry*, and also in going much to Albany to sell their roots, (*which proves worse to them than their going into the woods,*) where they are always much in the way of temptation and drunkenness, especially when they have money in their pockets." It is a relief to know that the early Albanians allowed no penniless Indians to get drunk. Edwards adds: "The consequence has been that many of them have laid out their money which they have got for their roots of ginseng for rum, wherewith they have intoxicated themselves." Other sources of information disclose that the Brothertown Indians united with the Oneidas in the search for ginseng, collecting 1,000 bushels annually, at $2 per bushel, and that the harvest was commonly followed by quarreling and sometimes by murder, particularly among the Oneidas. All of these results could not have happened to the Indians without affecting the white men. May not the "neglect of husbandry," to which Edwards alludes, in 1752, have been to a certain extent the cause of the famine which Mr. Paris relieved? The search for ginseng clearly produced a powerful effect on the habits of the people, an effect which long lingered in these valleys. I can well remember, as a boy in Kirkland, that this root was pointed out to me, and its great commercial value extolled. Though purchased by English traders, it was solely used by the Chinese, who make some seventy useless and probably pernicious preparations from it. The ginseng in these valleys is now forgotten, being displaced by the hop, the grape vine and the corn. The American people, for the most part, have lost all taste for irregular industry, and only tolerate such work as mining, when its operations are guided by the hand of science. In the early days of our history, the missionaries steadily set their faces against intermittent labor. They also did not allow their parishioners to mix rum with their religion,

but required them to accept it free from every sort of adulteration. The good effects of these principles are still visible throughout our society.

The people who founded our local institutions were from the beginning friends of order and desired to lay the social foundations in a strong and lasting manner. These qualities were exhibited in a marked way in the first settlement of a minister, Rev. Dan Bradley, in 1792, in Whitestown, once embracing this town of Paris. This clergyman was settled over the Whitestown church by proxy or representation, a committee having proceeded to Hampden, Conn., to act for the congregation and to listen to an excellent installation sermon from Jonathan Edwards, the younger, subsequently president of Union College, but then the pastor of a church at New Haven. He compliments them as the first of all in that new country who have formed themselves into a regular church and society. With prophetic vision he cries out that very few ministers in the United States are placed in a sphere of so great usefulness as their pastor,—few called to such strenuous exertions. He exhorts them to liberality, strict discipline and to an intense interest in a sound education for their children. It would be interesting to know who composed the committee to take this long and tiresome journey, simply to comply with an accustomed form and for due observance of seemly church order. After all, it matters not, for a like spirit has pervaded the whole region from the beginning until now. A careful observer wrote about seventy years ago of the inhabitants of the town of Paris in this wise: "The inhabitants are industrious, sober, orderly and prosperous." On this love of order they have built all their institutions, civil and religious. There is a marked steadiness in this our civilization, only one change being visible, that of onward movement and regular progress.

Citizens of Paris: You have done well to institute this celebration in honor of the man who set so fruitful an example to us all. True, it is not likely that any one will need to be stimulated by his conduct to save his immediate neighbors from famine; our resources being so varied and manifold. But neighborhood is now very large, and our fellow-men, if not our fellow-citizens need succor in a variety of forms. The little boat drawn painfully up the scantily flowing Oriskany by willing hands is the forerunner of mighty ships freighted with grain and other articles of food, while the Oriskany itself has expanded into the Shannon, the Danube and the Ganges, with famishing men within their shores stretching out their hands to receive gratuitously our life-sustaining products. Charity has been dignified by becoming a national act. Differences

in religious creeds have faded out in the mellow and uniform glow of an all-pervading philanthrophy. We can not credit all this to Mr. Paris. Still he performed his part well in the beneficent work of life and we may safely imitate him. We can not all follow closely after great men, but we can all walk abreast with charitable men. Each of us can join the white-robed procession though he have at command only the two mites that make a farthing. You have therefore done well in recalling Mr. Paris to the memory of the busy men of our time, in getting the seal of your approbation upon his act, in placing him high on the list of your local worthies and in making a beautiful and simple charitable deed a matter of public commemoration. The citizens of Oneida county are to be congratulated on their growing interest in their local history. They are also fortunate in the fact that so many noble and eminent men have lived and worked among them who have performed acts and possessed characters worthy to be kept in perpetual remembrance.

It was the policy of the earlier nations to build sepulchral monuments along frequented avenues. The dead thronged the streets almost as when alive. The living could not depart from home without looking into the marble faces of the dead and recalling their virtues.

We in the United States have pursued a widely different course. Our sepulchral memorials are scattered far apart on hills, in valleys, and sequestered nooks, awaiting the visit of the admirer, the antiquarian or the passing traveler. Thus it happens that Kirkland is at rest upon one of these hills, Paris upon another, while White sleeps in the valley, which he was the first to explore. Will we not at some future day combine these thoughts by erecting in the principal city of our county fit statues as memorials of the men to whom we owe so much, each exemplifying the special trait of character or mode of action which made him useful to his generation and makes him famous with posterity ?

HON. SAMUEL EARL'S REMARKS.

Ladies and Gentlemen and Citizens of the Town :

I can not imagine why I am called upon to address you. I came to be a spectator of what was to be done and to hear what was said. I am glad that I have been permitted to listen to the remarks, and shall remember them with pleasure. I have heard much I never knew before of the history of Isaac Paris, the noble bene-

factor of the people of this town. I do not know why I am called upon, unless it is that I belong to Herkimer county to which this county once belonged. You have heard what has been said in reference to Isaac Paris. You have been told that the people of this section had to go to Fort Plain, to get sustenance there. In doing so they were obliged to pass the German settlements around Fort Herkimer. I will tell you why it was necessary that they should pass the Germans. They were an industrious and charitable class, and had lived there since 1723. They were prosperous down to the time of the French war, but by the French and English invasion they lost their all and became poor. They remained on the frontier as a barrier against the Canadians and Indians. At the close of the war they were very poor. In addition to that, you must remember that at the close of the revolutionary war, in consequence of their exposed position, many of them were killed, and others driven away. They had many widows and orphans to provide for, and it was all they could do to provide for their own poor. The war ended in 1783, and the Indian depredations continued for several years after, so that the sturdy Germans could not cultivate enough to have a surplus. In 1789 they were poor, so it was not surprising they had nothing to spare for the people of this section. But the committee did not have to go far. They found a generous friend in Isaac Paris, who opened his garners to them freely. For that noble act his name is perpetuated in this town, and his dust will be honored and protected till the final trump. At that day everything west of Herkimer was almost a trackless wilderness. When the hardy pioneers settled in this town, they were surrounded by Indians. They came here poor, and their crops failing, they were obliged to go elsewhere for supplies. They were well calculated to go on the border, being a hardy people. They cleared up those lands, made homes for themselves, and fortunes for their posterity.

REV. DR. ISAAC S. HARTLEY'S REMARKS.

I suppose I have been called upon to speak because I am a representative of the church of which the deceased was a member. This is a remarkable occasion, and one which I hope will go down to posterity clothed in the language it so justly merits. We have come here and under the shadow of the sanctuary, to pay tribute to one whose name is already a proverb in the homes in

this valley, and one I trust coming generations will render still more bright and radiant. If heaven looks down and smiles on kind deeds, I know none more bright and good than that presented at this hour; of men, women and children, speaking different tongues, holding to different creeds and pursuing different walks in life, forgetting their special preferences and comimg here to pay their tribute of honor and respect to one animated with true patriotism and genuine christianity. History often repeats itself. Of the innumerable monuments that to-day dot this globe, how many were erected decades, and even centuries, after the bodies beneath them were deposited? After all, we can not forget the good, generous and brave. Time may corrode and consume the lesser virtues; but though sharp may be its tooth, it never can consume genuine patriotism and charity.

The speaker compared the exercises of the day to the burial of Jacob of old, and continued: Another scene comes to my mind and one wondrously different. A man may be a soldier and a patriot and yet not have much religion in his heart; but he who is a soldier and patriot and in whose heart religion dwells, that is the man the nations love and whom mankind honor. A few years ago, in Westchester county, a few gentlemen opened a grave and gathered together the remnants of a form that once lived. They were sent to Lord Lovelace, son-in-law of Lord Byron. Except his servant, no one knows to-day where those bones are interred. As of the grave of Moses, no man can to-day say: "There lie the remains of Thomas Paine." There is a difference in this respect between the man whose acts are prompted by christianity and those who are not. The distinguished man whom we to-day honor, contributed largely by his means as well as his influence for the establishment of the christian religion. We can not estimate our indebtedness to the many gone before us, for dotting these hills with spires pointing upward. We know that this valley has a wondrous history in efforts made to bring the redskins to a knowledge of the truth. To the same extent that these institutions of religion are kept in a community, to that extent does a country make progress. When you blot them out, you blot out the powers that have made us what we are. I hope the services of this hour will make us more loyal to ourselves, and more anxious to know our history.

HON. WILLIAM J. BACON'S REMARKS.

We have had more than enough of commemorations of those whose office it is to *destroy* life. Let us do some homage to those who do what they can, even although it be in an humble way, to *save* life, to feed the hungry, clothe the naked and relieve the suffering of the great human household. This was the business, as it was a good part of the mission of Christ; and they are Christ-like who like Him seek to save and not to destroy life. Thus doing, we in the most practical and emphatic manner answer His question, "Is it lawful to do good or to do evil, to save life or to kill?" Thus, in imitation of Him, did Colonel Isaac Paris in his day, and we do well to perpetuate the remembrance of such a timely and beneficent relief, and inculcate upon our children the simple but important and ever-recurring lesson that it teaches.

After the exercises the procession formed in the following order:

Marshal I. L. Addington.
Old Utica Band.
Utica Citizens' Corps.
Soldiers of the Late War.
Marshal A. R. Eastman and Members of Sauquoit Lodge 150, Sanger Lodge 129, Clinton Lodge 169, and Amicable Lodge of Washington Mills, F. & A. M.
Clergy.
Remains of Isaac Paris, borne by Hon. Josiah Shull, Ilion; O. B. Gridley, Waterville; Morgan Butler, New Hartford; G. H. Ives, Kirkland; Charles Peck, Marshall; Colonel George Young, Utica. Assistants—Stephen Savage, Sauquoit; Adelbert Rhodes, Clayville; Theodore F. Butterfield, Utica; Frank Corbin, Marshall; Dr. A. R. Simmons, New Hartford; F. Ward, Kirkland.
Irving Paris, of New York, only surviving descendant of Isaac Paris.
Speakers of the Day.
Members of the Historical Society.
Citizens.

The procession marched from the church around the green, and returned to the burying ground in rear of the church, where a hollow square was formed about the grave, the members of the

Corps standing at present arms. Rev. Dr. Isaac S. Hartley said the burial service and offered prayer. The remains were then lowered, the band playing a dirge.

Irving Paris of New York, spoke briefly, thanking those present for the respect shown to the deceased and for the beautiful tribute paid to his memory. The family was pleased to have the remains sent here among his friends. He congratulated the people of Paris on the prosperity of their town.

Rev. Dr. Hartley pronounced the benediction, and a deputation of the Citizens' Corps fired three volleys over the grave. The procession then formed again and marched to the village green, where the corps formed in line. Lieutenant McQuade, acting as adjutant, read the following general order :

GENERAL ORDERS, No. 1:

1. The Marshal Commanding desires to express to the Utica Citizens' Corps the thanks of the citizens of the towns of Paris, Kirkland and Marshall for their attendance and the kind and noble part taken by them in the memorial services of the day. And the Marshal especially desires to express to the officers and privates alike his appreciation of their courtesy and soldierly conduct and bearing throughout the day.

PARIS HILL, October 1, 1880. I. L. ADDINGTON, *Marshal.*

The following letter was subsequently received:

Hon. Charles W. Hutchinson, Vice President of the Oneida Historical Society :

My Dear Sir:—On behalf of myself and the various members of my family, I wish to take this opportunity of expressing to your Society our pleasure and gratification at the memorial services which took place at Paris, in October last. We were particularly struck with their beauty and impressiveness, and have read with the greatest interest the speeches made by the several members of your Society. Aside from the appropriateness of the remarks, which it might appear indelicate for us to praise too highly, we desire to thank you and your Society most sincerely for the assistance which you have given to the people of Paris, in preparing the ceremonies which took place on that occasion; and we also desire to convey to the citizens of that town our heartfelt gratitude for the beautiful tribute paid to the memory of Colonel Isaac Paris. I am informed that it is proposed to publish an account of the Paris Memorial, under the auspices of your Society, and I take the liberty of enclosing a check towards the expenses of such publication. I remain, my dear sir, Yours, very respectfully,

31 Pine street, New York. IRVING PARIS.

January 5th, 1881.

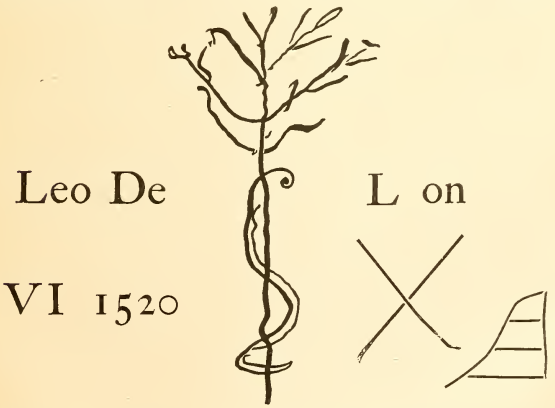
THE POMPEY, (N. Y.,) STONE,

WITH AN INSCRIPTION AND DATE OF A. D. 1520.

BY HENRY A. HOMES, LL. D.,
Librarian of the State Library.

DELIVERED BEFORE THE SOCIETY, NOVEMBER 11, 1879.

It is now nearly sixty years since there was found at Watervale, in the township of Pompey, Onondaga county, three miles northeast of Pompey Center and four miles south of Manlius, on the side of a hill looking to the northeast, a small boulder of gneiss rock, about fourteen inches long by twelve inches wide and ten inches thick, which bore a most remarkable inscription and figures.



If genuine and correctly interpreted, it is a relic furnishing the earliest evidence of the presence of the European in North America.* The appearance of the inscription on the stone resembles

*General John S. Clark, of Auburn, a thorough student of the topography of the region, in a letter dated January. 1880, gives me a farther description of the locality, which I take the liberty to subjoin: "The great Onondaga town visited by Le Moyne in 1654, was directly north on what is now

very nearly the drawing which I offer for your inspection. This stone is the property of the Albany Institute, though for the present deposited in the State Museum. The date is earlier than that of the discovery of New England, New York or Virginia, and one hundred years earlier than the founding of the colony at Plymouth. The fullest account of the discovery of the stone may be found in J. V. H. Clark's History of Onondaga county. It is also described in Schoolcraft's Indian Tribes, and in his Notes on the Iroquois, and in Squier's Antiquities of New York; and there are drawings of the inscription in the works of the three writers.

The township of Pompey has yielded up more relics of the Aborigines than any other place in this State. Upon its territory there must have existed three large villages, defended with strong forts, and the same number of cemeteries. Among the articles found there have been corn, arrows, flints, stone pestles, gun-barrels, swords, cannon-balls, hatchets, sacred medals of French and Dutch origin, a gold cross, numerous brass kettles, etc. These articles in nowise indicate an early and unknown European colony, or a European town or fort, to have been established near the spot. Governor DeWitt Clinton finds no evidence for European relics of an earlier date than of French colonists from 1654 to 1669, who finally abandoned the region.* The objects found simply prove that the Indians were living there in villages so early as 1620 at least, to judge by the age of some of the trees. The early colonists found a profit in digging up the graves in the township for the sake of valuable objects buried with the dead; and especially for the sake of the brass kettles, which they afterwards used for domestic purposes. The French mission, at the village now called Jonesville, in Pompey, must be the source of such articles as the sacred medals and a piece of an anvil. The source of others must be from the Indian trade with the colonists, or from their marauding excursions. In the early times it had been the custom of the French and the Dutch to sell or give to them carbines and muskets; so that in 1642 the Mohawks alone had 300 men who were

known as Indian Hill, the main village, about two miles from the stone. This was a very large town, and extended south probably a mile, and not unlikely quite to the locality of the stone. Directly southwest about a mile was another important town occupied about the same time by some one of the subjugated nations. South two miles, in the same valley, was still another of like character."

*Clinton's Memoir on the Antiquities of the Western Parts of New York, 1817.

armed with guns.* The French colonists at Onondaga Lake brought five cannon with them, which they must have buried somewhere previous to their stealthy flight in 1658. Sir William Johnson, in 1756, supplied the Tuscaroras with swivels for their own and the colonists' protection against the French. These facts alone are sufficient to account for the cannon-balls found in Pompey. The region of Pompey was so famous for certain battles among the Indians themselves at some period of their history, that it obtained the name among them of the Bloody Ground.† Mr. Schoolcraft's remark on the subject of these relics is, that "it is most probable that there are no remains of European art, or have ever been disclosed in this part of the country, one only excepted, which are not due to the attempts of the Dutch and French to establish fur trade."‡

There were found on the rocks in one place grooves resembling five Roman figures for I and an X, in size three-quarters of an inch broad, three-quarters of an inch deep and nine inches long, contiguous to each other. Another rock with similar marks has been lately found, and both are now in the possession of Mr. Ledyard, of Cazenovia. Careful observation has shown that these marks have no significance, and that they are simply indentations produced by the Indians in sharpening their stone tools.

The stone which is the subject of our present remarks bears a date nearly one hundred years earlier than French intercourse with the Indians at this point, a date within twenty-three years of the first discovery of the new continent by Cabot. The genuineness of the inscriptions upon it have never been questioned by any of those who have written regarding them, down to Mr. Haven, of the American Antiquarian Society, who very lately has declared them to be well authenticated.§ These writers have merely failed to give explanations or conjectures regarding its origin and meaning that have harmonized with all the facts. Mr. J. V. H. Clark, the historian of Onondaga county, who published in 1849, comes nearer to a correct, though incomplete, view of it than others. Mr. Clark says: "It was probably designed as a sepulchral monument. * * * It may not appear incredible that a party of Spaniards, either stimulated by the spirit of adventure or allured by the love of gold, or driven by some rude blast of misfortune, may have visited this region, lost one of their number by death,

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*Parkman; p. 214, 230. †Schoolcraft's Notes on the Iroquois, p. 470, 446.

‡Notes, p. 189. §Am. Ant. Soc. Proc., 1863; Ap., p. 33.

and erected this rude stone with its simple inscription as a tribute to his memory."*

Mr. Schoolcraft assumes that the serpent climbing a tree refers to a well-known passage in the Pentateuch. He thinks that the date (VI 1520) means the sixth year after Pope Leo Tenth took the Papal chair; and that, also, some straggler from Ponce de Leon, who discovered Florida in 1513, reached the Iroquois.† His contradictory conclusions only create dilemma and bewilderment.

Mr. Squier expresses no opinion of his own as to its origin, but says that it is the conjecture of some that Ponce de Leon, Narvaez, or some other Spanish commander, penetrated thus far to the northward during the period of Spanish adventure in Florida.

Thomas Buckingham Smith, who is the last person who has speculated upon the topic, as late as 1863, had advanced no farther than to surmise that the inscription was derived from Spanish missionaries, who early penetrated the country, and to say that the inscription in full would be, "*Leo decimus Pontifex maximus.*" "Leo the Tenth, grand high priest."‡ This he inferred from the fact that in the year of Christ 1520, Giovanni de Medici sat upon the Papal throne, and therefore, these might possibly have been the words.

Regarding some of the solutions offered of these mysterious carvings, they seem to be either improbable or impossible. It is even now surmised that the stone might refer to Leo X, Pope, and only for the reason that he was Pope from 1513 to 1521. But he was not from the town or kingdom of Leon, a part of Spain: and there is nothing but the date to connect the stone with him. Leo or Leon is a very common name among all the Latin nations. It is surmised that the name may have referred to Ponce de Leon, the discoverer of Florida. The answer is, that in this case there is no coincidence of a name of person, but only of a name of place. Surmises which have been made connecting the stone with persons in various other expeditions, fail to apply, because we find that the dates of those expeditions were at too late a period, that this stone could be a memorial of any incident connected with them.

In my present contribution to the study of the origin of this stone, I do not pretend to have solved every problem connected with it, but I hope that by bringing into new relations some facts from the history of the progress of discovery in the New World,

* Clark's History of Onondaga County. Syracuse: 1849. 2 v., 8vo.

† Notes on the Iroquois, p. 323.

‡ Am. Antiq. Soc. Proc., Ap., 1863; p. 33.

and some facts from the customs of the Indians, I may succeed in limiting the range of investigation, and that while the stone itself will always remain a most interesting object, it may seem less of a mystery.

The conclusion to which I have come, is one so simple, that if true, it must in a measure dispel curiosity to seek to reach farther into the darkness; and after it is presented, it may seem so obvious, as hardly to deserve so much form in setting it forth.

My position in a single proposition, is the following: The Pompey Stone is a memorial stone of a European, probably of a Spaniard, who previous to 1520, with one or more companions had been made a captive by the Indians in some part of North America, and both had been adopted as members of the tribe with which they were living, and one of them had become a Sachem. At the death of Leo a surviving companion carved on the stone his name with the month and year of his death, and emblems of his hope of an immortal life.

Upon this proposition, the first question which one asks is, in what way could any Spaniard have reached Onondaga county as early as the year 1520. The answer to this is, that from the discovery of Hispaniola or San Domingo in 1492, and its settlement, occasions when Europeans landed upon the continent must have been much more numerous than the voyages from Hispaniola which have been specifically reported and recorded. But we will go back only to the voyage of the first discoverer of the continent, that of John Cabot, father of Sebastian Cabot in 1497. No one who considers how persons of every nation of Europe were mingled among these early adventurers, will have any difficulty in believing that a portion of those that sailed from Bristol with Cabot in 1497, may have been Spainards. Cabot himself, born in Genoa, and a naturalized Venetian, it has been shown was at Seville in Spain in 1496.*

Dr. O'Callaghan has lately found in the roll of the discovery-ship, the Pinta of Columbus, that one of the crew was an Irishman of Galway.† It is evident that Cabot landed upon the coast of North America, and he brought home some natives of the country to London.‡ In his next voyage in 1498, he is reported to have sailed with five ships, and with hundreds of persons on board,

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*H. Stevens, Memoir on Cabot. London: 1870.—Also, Historical and Geographical Notes, 1869, 8vo., by the same.

†From a newspaper of August, 1879.

‡Stow's Annals of London, of 1502, quoted by Biddle, p. 225.

doubtless for purposes of colonization, and only one or two of these ships ever returned to England.*

Following after Cabot, we have the Portuguese Navigator, G. Cortereal, who in 1501, on his second voyage with three ships, landed in Labrador, and two of the ships carried back seventy persons as laborers, whence the name of Labrador to that region, from the Portuguese word for laborers. Cortereal was lost with one of the ships. He had commenced his discoveries at the south of the river St. Lawrence.† A third voyage of a brother, Miguel, is reported, but the ship never returned in which he sailed.

We come next to the voyage of Ponce de Leon in 1513 to Florida. He landed twice or thrice on the coast, and had a battle in which two of his men were wounded; at another time, he was attacked by eighty canoes. His first place of landing was a little below St. Augustine. In 1515, on another voyage, he again landed, coming from Seville, with three ships. The Indians, says Gomara, came against him to prevent his halting in their town, and fought so bravely, that they defeated him, slew a great many of the Spaniards, and wounded him with an arrow; from which wound he afterwards died.

In 1517, three ships from Hispaniola, discovered Yucatan, landed and brought back some of the natives.

In 1518 and 1519, Pineda in the service of Garay, went to Florida, and fought with the natives at several points.‡

Besides these voyages, and those of Denis in 1504, of Pinzon and Solis in 1507, of Nunez de Balboa in 1513, of Hernandez in 1517, Cortes in 1519, all before 1520, there are other voyages mentioned by the historians of those early days, by Galvanos, Oviedo, Herrera and others.§ I do not refer to Columbus's voyage to South America in 1503, nor to the voyages to Central America. But besides all these voyages, how many unreported voyages must have occured where the adventurer never returned to Europe, to Spain or to Hispaniola? And last, and perhaps as much to our purpose, were the early voyages to the fishing banks, reported as discovered as early as 1463, and by some, even thirty years earlier. One navigator reports that ships of various nations, catching cod or Bakalaos in that quarter, were seen by him in the year 1519, to the number

*Biddle's Cabot, pp. 87, 88, 239.

† Biddle's Cabot, p. 241.

‡ Galvanos, Hakluyt Soc., p. 133, 134, 141. Kohl, p. 142. Gomara, lib. 2 cap 48, French edition.

§ Galvanos, p. 130, 134.

of fifty. Either driven by storms, or landing on the coasts to salt and dry their fish, some persons of their crews could hardly fail to have been left on land and captured.*

It must be left to your imagination to reckon up the total number of the consequent landings and contacts with the natives, from all these enumerated and unenumerated voyages, when you at the same time have recalled the secrecy, and the suppression of facts practiced, regarding new discoveries, not only by Spain, but by all the nations interested in adding to their dominions, by asserting claims to sovereignty by right of discovery. It is an evidence of the extent to which this principle of preserving secrecy was carried, that Spain published no official geographical charts of these new countries, with the admitted jurisdiction over them, previous to the year 1790.†

This rapid review of the voyages to America from 1492 to 1497, and down to the date of the Pompey stone is sufficient to give us the conviction, that the Spaniards very frequently during that period of time came in close contact with the Aborigines.

This may have seemed to you so clear, that it would have been sufficient that I should have affirmed it in a single sentence.

But the next consideration refers to facts which are not so well known; that it can be shown that from a very early period after the discovery, there are recorded a number of cases of Europeans living among the Indians long after their captivity, and becoming honored members of the tribe with which they happened to be thrown. Facts of a similar nature have been repeating themselves to the present time. In the majority of cases, the Indians did not massacre or devour their captives. At first they were ready to receive them with hospitality and respect.‡ In some cases they reverenced them as more than human. From what ships their captives came, in many cases we have no information; for the buccaneers and corsairs of those days, whether preying upon the Indians or upon the commerce of European nations, most frequently have left us but the most insignificant reports of their adventures.

We will illustrate this intercourse of the Spaniards with the Indians, and allude to the long residence of some among them, by a few examples. When Ponce de Leon discovered Florida, in 1513, he found on the coast, in latitude 28°, an Indian who was liv-

* Gomara in Kohl, p. 404; Brevoort on Verazzano's voyage; Major's P. Henry, p. 374.

† Brevoort on Verrazano (Am. Geog. Soc. Jour., v. 4).

‡ Heckewelder, p. 59.

ing with his tribe, who served him as an interpreter, having learned Spanish at Hispaniola, showing that there had been previous intercourse. D'Ayllon actually commenced, in 1526, a settlement at Coosakatchie, in South Carolina, near the mouth of the Combachee, having five hundred persons with him from Hispaniola. The Indians revenged themselves for the treatment they had received five years before from him, on his first voyage, when he had carried off a cargo of the natives and sold them as slaves, and they destroyed the colony, so that not one-quarter of them escaped back to Hispaniola. Of course of those that did not escape, many may have remained alive only to become captive to the natives.*

When Martin Affonso, in 1532, landed in Brazil, he was unexpectedly saluted by Ramalho, a Portuguese refugee, who had married the daughter of the chief of a tribe, and was held in much honor. The story of the captivity of Hans Stade in the same country, Brazil, fills one of the last volumes of the Hakluyt Society. He lived with wild tribes from 1547 to 1555.

Biedma, who was with De Soto in 1539, in his great journey from Florida to the Mississippi, obtained information regarding D'Ayllon's settlement, made twelve years before, from one of his soldiers, who had been permitted to live with the Indians. The destruction of this colony has been celebrated in a poem of two thousand lines, by W. J. Grayson, of South Carolina.

Let us next recall the expedition of Nunez Cabeça de Vaca, who started, in 1528, with Narvaez, with 300 men, to cross the country westward from Florida. After two years of wandering and six years of captivity, traveling three thousand and five hundred miles, he succeeded in reaching Sonora, on the Gulf of California, and finally, with only three companions, joined the Spaniards in Mexico.

When he reached the Province of Sinaloa, on the Pacific, the whole community of the Nevome Indians united in acts of hospitality, built them a house and a fort, till there should be a favorable moment for their departure for Mexico.

The case of John Ortiz is a very interesting one. Soon after De Soto landed in Florida, in 1539, he learned that a soldier from Narvaez's party was living with the Indians. He wished to secure him, and sent a captain and eighty men for the purpose. The soldiers seeing a band of Indians of equal number, galloped fiercely towards them, and they all fled but one—who turned out to be this captive from Narvaez's army. His story was, that after

*Galvanos, p. 160; Schoolcraft, vi; 39.

he had been captured, his life had been spared through the intercessions of a chief's daughter. This genuine story was already in print when Captain John Smith was preparing a final edition of his works, and, to still farther excite the wonder of the English regarding Virginia, led him to invent the story of his having been saved in a similar manner by Pocahontas, sixteen years before. De Soto himself left the coast of West Florida with 1,300 men, crossed the Mississippi and the Arkansas, and reached Mexico after four years, with only one-half of the number.

The story of the campaign of Coronado, in 1540–41–42, from Mexico, with 400 horsemen, up through Arizona and Colorado, to the cities of Cibola and Quivira, is a marvelous one. In numerous skirmishes with the Indians, many of his men were slain or disappeared, and on his return to Mexico, he had with him but 100 men. Within a few years, coats of armor, supposed to have belonged to some of his party, have been found by our soldiers in mountain caverns of that region.* We can not doubt but that some of all these warriors became members of Indian tribes.

Fontaneda, a Spaniard who was shipwrecked on the coast of Florida when he was thirteen years of age, narrates that he lived with the Indians seventeen years from the year 1551, and that he spoke four of their languages. He mentions by name, incidentally in the course of his narrative, seven of his countrymen whom he met among them. He mentions one ship which was wrecked with 1,000 souls on board, of whom 300 reached the land in safety. He describes the people as poor in gold and silver, except the millions which they had obtained from wrecked European vessels. "It was a consolation," he says, "for those who were lost after us, to find on shore christian companions who could help them to understand the brutes. Many Spaniards have saved their lives by finding before them their countrymen."† So prominent a feature were shipwrecks, resulting from the treacherous currents around the coast of Florida, that Oviedo devotes one hundred and thirty folio pages of his work to an account of those shipwrecks that had come within his knowledge, there and in the Gulf of Mexico, previous to 1545.‡

Champlain, Governor of Canada, in his account of his attack on the Iroquois in 1615, at Fenner in Madison county, in this State, observes that they had with them three Flemish (Dutch) men aid-

* General Simpson's paper, Am. Geog. Soc. Jour., vol. V, p. 194.

† Smith's De Soto and Fontaneda, p. 20, 21, 22, 32, &c.—Ramusio

‡ Oviedo, Hist. de las Indias, Jour. IV, l. L.

ing them at that early period of a Dutch trading settlement, in their war against the Algonquins, whom they afterwards gave up to the French. In 1642 and 1643 the reverse of this occurred, that the Iroquois having captured Fathers Bressani and Jogues from the French, gave them up to the Dutch.*

It would unnecessarily protract this paper to embody all the evidence I have collected of the residence of Spaniards and Europeans among the Indians of North America within the first one hundred years from the discovery of the continent. The original narratives and the compilations of the historians show that there were many, either as captives or as adopted members of the tribes, living with them, and occasionally acting as interpreters to vessels that touched the coast for commerce. Our libraries are full of narrations of what are called Indian captivities. DeWitt Clinton says: "The Indians made free all the captives whom they spared in battle."† The Mohawks had *Englishmen* included in their tribe at an early date.‡ The Five Nations in 1684 had added so largely to their numbers from Indian captives as to have increased the number of their warriors by more than 600 men. And this year of centennial celebrations of Sullivan's campaign of 1779, makes it appropriate to state that when he came to Newton he found fifteen captives from the settlers among the Senecas.§

The whole evidence, therefore, goes to show that from the considerable number of voyages previous to 1520, when the navigators came into actual contact with the Indians on land, and from the frequency of captives living with them at that time and in years following, that this Pompey stone was probably inscribed by a Spaniard domiciled with the Indians; and if this stone was found in the place where it was first deposited, then it was among the *Onondaga* or the *Oneida* Indians, and near the line of the great Indian trail from the Hudson and the south to Lake Erie.‖

We next, therefore, come to the explanation of the *marks on the stone;* and we proceed to account for them in accordance with the

*Champlain's Ed. of 1619. Trans. in Mag. of Am. Hist., I, p. 563.—Geddes, Mag. of Hist., p. 527.

† DeWitt Clinton.

‡ Parkman, lxvi p.—Morgan, League of the Iroquois, 340, 341.

§ In my statement as first delivered, I mentioned thirty as the whole number of captives. Not being able to refer to my authority for that number, I accept the correction which the Rev. David Craft has kindly made to me in a letter since an extract from this paper was published.

‖ L. H. Morgan, League of the Iroquois, p. 421.

assumption we have made. As a grave-stone memorial, the inscription would mean that in the year of our Lord 1520, in the sixth month, (which according to old style would be September or October,) Leo, a Spaniard of the city of Leon in Spain, died here. The carving of the tree and the serpent we infer was done contemporaneously with the inscription of the name of the deceased, and that the whole was cut by a surviving companion. The tree entwined by a serpent we must believe was placed there by a man who had recollections of the christian teachings of earlier days, and of the pictures he had seen in the churches and in his books of devotion, of the tree of knowledge, of good and evil, which is at the same time the tree of immortal life, thus entwined. The same symbol he might have seen employed in the vignette of early printed books, as a printer's mark, perhaps surmounted with an owl, as the bird of wisdom. Our captive, having obtained the respect of the Indians and become familiar with their beliefs, does not carve any object emblematic of christianity, but adopts one which conformed much nearer to the beliefs of the Indians, than the learned world was generally aware of fifty years since. The religious reverence for trees and serpents, which may be called worship, as it existed in East India, is now seen to have been almost universal, certainly very prevalent in the whole New World. J. G. Mueller, a German writer, in 1855, finds traces of tree-worship combined with serpent-worship all over the American continent. Ferguson in England, in 1873, devotes a large quarto volume, with one hundred plates, under the title of "Tree and Serpent Worship," to a history of that mythology, not only in India, but "in all parts of the world." And besides the chapters on the subject in Schoolcraft's "Indian Tribes of the United States," we have the volume of Squier, published in 1851, on the "Serpent Symbol in America." I will make no quotation from either of these, but content myself with a single sentence from the latest authority, that of J. G. Henderson, in a paper read by him at the meeting of the American Scientific Association at Saratoga, September, 1879, on this topic. He says: "The serpent was at one time worshiped as a divine being by all the tribes from Cape Horn to Hudson's Bay, and from ocean to ocean." I will only add one or two illustrations specifically from the traits of our own northern Indians. The Indian mounds of the mound-builders are frequently constructed in the form of a serpent. Lawson, a land surveyor among the Tuscaroras in North Carolina, in the years 1710 to 1712, writes that they have a superstition which forbids

them to step across a tree, and that they will never kill a snake.* Cusick, an Indian preacher, (a Tuscaroran of New York,) fills the pages of his "History of the Six Nations" with stories of snakes and serpents exercising divine power over the destinies of the tribes in their legendary period. Sir William Johnson, in his account of the Oneidas, tells us that this tribe used a tree as a symbol of stability.†

The chief object of worship among the Onondagas was a being whom they called, Hotarho, who was always pictured with the hair of his head composed of writhing snakes.

Without farther illustrations, we must conclude therefore, that this emblem was placed here as being one which would commend the stone to the respect and reverence of the Indians, and would at the same time express hopes of an immortal life for the one buried near it.

In coming to the remaining marks upon the stone, those at the right hand corner, at the bottom, we think that they represent two pipes or calumets crossed, with perhaps a tobacco pouch below them. As the calumet of peace, it would be an emblem that he who was there entombed was at peace and amity with the survivors. Says DeWitt Clinton, "For an infringement of the rights of the calumet, the confederate Five Nations carried on a war of thirty years against the Choctaws."‡ Hennepin says, "I had certainly perished in my travels had it not been for this calumet of peace."§ Charlevoix says, "To smoke in the same pipe therefore in token of alliance, is the same thing as to drink in the same cup, as has been practiced at all times by many nations."‖ Whether pipes, arrows or war-clubs, these marks on this stone are plainly Indian emblems: and if they are a token of ownership by a chief, it might be that they were carved in after years, as marks of an Indian family—family arms, or *totem*. Fontaneda states that memorials set up by the Spaniards were treated with religious respect by the Indians. In this sense Longfellow makes Hiawatha address his "wondering people":

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* Lawson's Travels in North Carolina; 1709, p. 202, 210.

† Doc. Hist., vol. iv, p. 271.

‡ Clinton. Address, 1811, from Smith's N. Y., p. 52.

§ Hennepin's voyages. Chap. 24, p. 94. London, 1698.

‖ Charlevoix. Dublin, T. l., p. 180, 181.

* * * "Behold, your grave-posts
Have no mark, no sign, nor symbol.
Go and paint them all with figures;
Each one with its household symbol,
With its own, ancestral totem;
So that those who follow after,
May distinguish them and know them."

Many of the incidents and facts which I have mentioned, I have touched upon in the most brief manner possible, so as not to weary your patience. And I will not enlarge farther regarding the meaning and import of this stone, but will just repeat in an abbreviated form my general proposition as my conclusion. The stone is the grave-stone of a European and probably a Spaniard, who with a companion was once a captive, but at the date of 1520 were adopted members of some tribe of Indians. The inscription was made by the survivor. The marks in the right hand lower corner indicate tribal relationship.

In view of all the considerations which I have presented, I think we are authorized to regard the Pompey inscribed stone with its genuineness and authenticity, as the earliest monument either in the State of New York or in the United States, attesting the discovery of the New World and the presence here of the European.

Gentlemen of the Society! I thank you for the indulgence with which you have listened to my utterances on this very minute historical theme. I regret that I have not been able to offer to you topics of a wider scope: but I have been glad of an opportunity to offer something even though it be but a trifling gift, as an acknowledgment of your kindness. To have been able to carry back your thoughts to the noble and heroic nation that once flourished here, is all that in the circumstance of a daily very busy life, it has been possible for me to accomplish.

JOHANNIS RUEFF,

A PIONEER OF ONEIDA COUNTY.

BY DR. F. H. ROOF, OF RHINEBECK, N. Y.

READ BEFORE THE SOCIETY, SEPTEMBER 23, 1879.

In Jones' "Annals of Oneida County," page 326, we find that in the year 1760 John Roof and —— Brodock resided at Fort Stanwix, N. Y. Beyond this fact, the author states his inability to obtain further information concerning them, other than a brief notice of John Roof contained in an obituary of his son, John Roof, Jr., published in the *Rome Sentinel* in October, 1847.

Johannis Rueff (Anglicized Roof) was born in the city of Durlach, Suabia, Germany, on the 9th of January, 1730. His ancestor removed from the Tyrol into Suabia at a period of civil war. He married Annie Mari Leonhardo, of Heidelberg, Germany, January 13, 1759. In October, 1759, they landed at Philadelphia, Penn. Early in 1760 he made his way westward as far as Fort Stanwix, N. Y., where he established himself as a trader with the Indians. As shown by bills of sale in the writer's possession, his business transactions extended as far east as Stone Arabia and Caughnawaga. He purchased from the Indians in the year 1762, in connection with Philip Livingston, Oliver DeLancey and Peter Dubois, a tract of land containing twenty thousand acres. It appears from a petition of Johannis Rueff on file at the Secretary of State's office, Albany, dated January 31, 1789, that the share of John Roof, in this tract (four thousand acres,) together with the share of others, was conveyed by the State as bounty land at the close of the Revolution. Oliver DeLancey and other shareholders having been attainted of treason, all of the patentees excepting Philip Livingston (several of whom, including John Roof, were Whigs,) were deprived of their property, for which they never received an equivalent. From 1760 until the outbreak of the Revolution, Mr. Roof continued with great pecuniary advantage his traffic with the Indians, exchanging provisions, &c., for furs, often furnishing

supplies to the garrison, and cultivating a farm near the fort. In 1777, previous to the siege proper of Fort Stanwix, while yet the settlers could scarcely leave their quarters with safety, John Roof was warned by an Oneida Indian of an impending attack upon the fort by the Indians and British troops. Deciding to remove his family and effects to a place of safety, he so informed Colonel Gansevoort, in command of Fort Stanwix. Colonel Gansevoort, however, appropriated the supplies for the use of the garrison, and later ordered Mr. Roof's buildings burned, which were strongly constructed and furnished protection to the enemy, then in possession. Colonel Gansevoort gave Mr. Roof a certificate in the name of the Government, promising to make good his loss. An ungranted petition of John Roof's, on file at the Secretary of State's office, Albany, asks redress for the above. During the years 1796 and 1797 a final effort was made, through his friend, Judge William Cooper, then Member of Congress, to obtain satisfaction from the Government for his losses, which was also unsuccessful.* In 1844 a further attempt to obtain reparation from the State was made by John Roof, Jr., which met a fate no better than those which preceded it. (See Assembly Journal for 1844, 1845 and 1846.) In advancing the claims at this late day, as Colonel Gansevoort's certificate and other vouchers were missing, evidence of some kind became necessary. Henry Sitts, a Revolutionary soldier, formerly in the employ of John Roof, accordingly made his affidavit, which contains much that is irrelevant to this sketch, yet, as a whole, gives the best account we have of the circumstances under which Mr. Roof was compelled to leave Fort Stanwix. A copy follows:

State of N. Y., Herkimer County.

This 24th day of July, 1844, Henry Sitts, of the town of Stark, in the County of Herkimer, being duly sworn according to law, deposes and says: That he was born the 29th of August, 1754, in the town of Canajoharie, south of the Mohawk river, and that in the month of April, 1777, he went to Fort Stanwix, now the village of Rome, to work for Captain Johannis Roof, who then resided at the fort commanded by Colonel Gansevoort; That he sowed his spring grain and helped plant his corn and potatoes, and that he occupied a well stocked farm lying southerly and westerly of the fort, containing commodious buildings. The house was as well-built a residence as any along the Mohawk river at that time.

* House Journal, Fourth Congress.

And that John Roof was an Indian trader and store keeper to the garrison at the fort, and had a storehouse, &c., near his dwelling, also large barns filled with hay from meadows on the flats.

About the last of May, 1777, he, Sitts, left Fort Stanwix and returned home. In July he went under General Herkimer to Oriskany, and that on the 6th of August, they met the troops under St. Leger, were defeated and a great many of their men killed. Fort Stanwix was then besieged by the British and Indians. And that he was at the fort in the fall of 1778, and then all the buildings of Captain John Roof were destroyed by burning; that they were burned by order of Colonel Gansevoort, that the buildings were near the fort, and at the time of the attack by St. Leger the Indians got into his buildings and fired upon the fort, which was the cause of Gansevoort's ordering them burned. The effects of Captain Roof were appropriated for the use of the garrison, and that had it not been for his cattle, swine, provisions, &c., the troops at that station could not have held the fort until the arrival of supplies from the government, [which came to hand on the day the siege opened,] as they would have been destitute for some weeks preceding the siege. That before the battle of Oriskany took place Captain John Roof removed his family to the residence of General Herkimer, and the following year, located at Canajoharie where he resided until his death. And that he was well acquainted with John Roof, Jr., who lived with his father at Fort Stanwix. That he has lived at Roof's Village now Canajoharie since that time. And since the Revolutionary war, John Roof the 2d commanded the regiment to which he belonged for several years. He is not now able to state the full value of the property taken for the use and benefit of the troops under Colonel Gansevoort, but from his best recollection of the cattle and other stock, flour, hay, corn, potatoes, and many other articles in his possession, considering their scarcity at that point, particularly at so great a distance west of the settled portions of the Mohawk valley, should say they were of great value.

Herkimer County, Town of Stark. HENRY SITTS.

John Roof, Jr., born August 28th, 1762, was the first child not of Indian parentage born, in what is now Oneida county. The christening which occurred soon after, was therefore quite an event. Among the guests present was Sir William Johnson; Captain Nicholas Herkimer also present, acted as godfather to the child. Susanna a daughter, was born August 9th, 1766. Martyn a son

born February 2d, 1770, was baptized February 12th, 1770, by the Rev. Samuel Kirkland, a record of which appears in his diary.*

Barbara Roof, born October 30, 1771.
Adam, born May 16th, 1773.
Annie M., born April 5th, 1777.
Martyn died in infancy.

At Canajoharie three sons were subsequently born: Daniel, Martyn 2d and Andrew. Mr. Roof was mainly instrumental in rebuilding the village of Canajoharie, after its destruction by the Indians, under Brant in 1780. To those calling upon him with a view of settling there, he offered every inducement, usually entertaining them at his own house. He met his death under the following circumstances: Towards the close of the year 1798, a stranger from New York, called upon Mr. Roof, with a view of negotiating for a farm and building site, and while the guest of Mr. Roof he was taken ill, with what proved a malignant fever. Although warned by the medical attendant of the contagious nature of the malady, Mr. Roof insisted upon personally superintending the nursing of the invalid, who soon succumbed to the violence of the disease. A few days later he was stricken with the fever.

Notwithstanding all that medical skill could do in his behalf, he died November 15th, 1798. He made his will April 18th, 1798, probated December 26th, 1798. Three of his grandsons are still living: Philip Roof, the father of the writer, a resident of New York city. Judge Adam Roof of Ionia, Michigan, and Gerret L. Roof, D. D., late of Lowville, N. Y., at present a resident of Troy, N. Y. He is I believe an honorary member of the Oneida County Historical Society.

* Extract from the Diary of Rev. Samuel Kirkland.

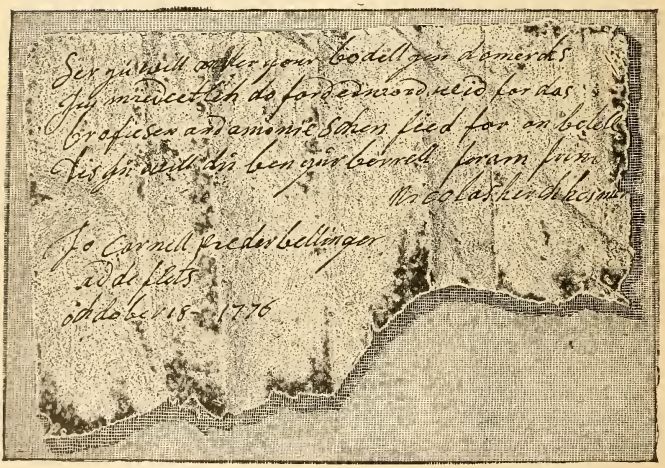
(1770) February 12, Monday. Set out for the German Flats to get some provisions and intend to proceed to Col. Butler's for some money I hear Dr. Wheelock has sent there for my present necessities. Rose at 4, set off at sunrise: came to Fort Stanwix P. M., and preached a lecture. Baptized two children—Martin, son of John Ruff, and Martha Christian, daughter of William Cline—lodged at Mr. Ruff's.

THE HERKIMER PAPERS.

DESCRIPTIVE LIST OF PAPERS OF GEORGE HERKIMER, ESQ., THE BROTHER OF GENERAL HERKIMER, RECEIVED FROM H. G. BABCOCK.

BY MATTHEW D. BAGG.*

READ BEFORE THE SOCIETY, FEBRUARY 25, 1879.



AUTOGRAPH MILITARY ORDER BY GENERAL HERKIMER.†

Transcribed literally, it reads:

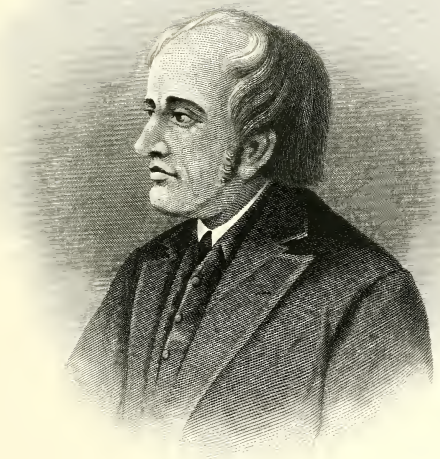
Ser you will order your bodellyen do merchs immiedeetleh do fordedward weid for das brofiesen and amonieschen fied for on betell. Dis yu will dis ben your berrell—from frind

NICOLAS HERCHKEIMER.

To Cornell pieder bellinger
ad de flets
Ochdober 18. 1776.

* See page 107.

† For this fac-simile of the original, in the Society's collection, we are indebted to the publishers of Bryant's Popular History of the United States, C. Scribner's Sons.



The order, rendered in better English, reads as follows:

SIR: You will order your battalion to march immediately to Fort Edward with four days' provisions and ammunition fit for one battle.

This you will disobéy (at) your peril.

From (your) Friend,

NICHOLAS HERKIMER.

To Colonel PETER BELLINGER, at The Flats.

October 18, 1776.

In the roster of the four Tryon county battalions of militia, as furnished by (General) Nicholas Herkimer, Chairman of the Tryon County Committee, August 26, 1775, Peter Bellinger is named as Lieutenant Colonel of the Fourth Battalion: that of the German Flats and Kingsland District. Colonel Bellinger commanded a battalion at the battle of Oriskany.

Copy of a receipt given by Hans Jost Herkimer, the father of General Herkimer, to James Stevenson, for £100, for necessaries furnished by Herkimer for the expedition against Niagara, dated at Albany, 3 September, 1755; and, on same sheet, copy of order on P. V. B. Livingston, Esq., given by said Herkimer for refunding the same sum, dated 29 March, 1756. The necessaries referred to consisted in carrying provisions and stores over the Oneida carrying-place. This expedition against Niagara, under the command of Governor Shirley, was abandoned on the 24th of October, 1755, after having passed beyond Oswego. Hans Jost Herkimer was one of the very first persons practically to demonstrate the great value of the central route along the valley of the upper Mohawk in the transportation and carrying trade, and may be esteemed as the true precursor of the Jason Parkers and Cornelius Vanderbilts of later eras. He resided at Fort Herkimer, fifteen miles east of Utica, where his son, General Nicholas Herkimer, was born one hundred and fifty years ago.

An unsigned receipt for £224 8s. 6d. paid by said Hans Jost Herkimer, the father of General Herkimer, dated 14 December, 1767.

Autograph order of J. Wolff, written in German, dated Petersbourg, 25 February, 1768, for 25 skipples of corn, payable to Peter Moulder and George Cronhard. Petersbourg, or New Peterboro, known also as Germantown, is the same place now called East Schuyler, and is in Herkimer county. Mr. Wolff, whose christian name was Johannes, came from Saar Brock in Germany, under the

auspices of Peter Hasenclever, and was the merchant and trader for the company formed by Hasenclever, and established at East Schuyler. A cavalry sword brought by him from Germany is now in possession of E. Remington & Sons, at Ilion. Mr. Hasenclever is mentioned in this receipt as Herrn. Peter Hasenclever. From him the place received its name of New Peterboro. In the year 1766, Hasenclever had erected here a pot and pearlash factory, two frame houses and thirty-four log houses, and had a settlement begun for the cultivation of hemp, flax and madder. Sir William Johnson was his partner in the potash manufacture. Hasenclever had also a patent for 18,000 acres of land near his settlement, called Hasenclever's Patent, and bought, in addition, from General Oliver DeLancey, 6,755 acres in Cosby's Manor for his agricultural operations. The range of hills along the north side of the Mohawk from West Canada creek to Nine Mile creek, was formerly called from him or his patent the Hasenclever Hills; but that name seems now to be restricted to the lands of the patent a short distance north of the village of Herkimer.

Hasenclever was a man of extraordinary energy and enterprise. He was one of the first persons in the colonies to enter upon the manufacture of iron, and in this same year had in operation four furnaces and seven forges in New York and New Jersey. He was known in some places as Baron Hasenclever, and in at least one locality, where his name was in use one hundred years since, it has been corrupted into Baron Hass. But his operations were too extended, and in 1766 he became embarrassed, and in 1770 was declared a bankrupt. He returned to Germany and died in 1792. He was born at Remscheid, in the Rhenish provinces, in 1716.

But the settlement on the Mohawk, where Hasenclever had introduced many Germans, was continued as an agricultural establishment. It was during the war of Independence, the frontier settlement, at least after that at Deerfield Corners, was temporarily abandoned in 1776. The settlers found it necessary to make fortifications against the inroads of the Indians, and erected for their protection, a small fort, called Little Stone Arabia. This was found sufficient for their security, although more than once threatened. On one of these occasions, it is said, the fort was saved during the absence of the men, by the women, who put on men's coats and hats, displayed themselves upon the ramparts, and succeeded in impressing the Indians with the belief that the fort was well guarded. But in September, 1778, when the German Flats were burned by Brant and his murderous myrmidons, Ger-

mantown did not escape, and was also destroyed. On this occasion, Mrs. Wolff, the wife of Johannes (or John) Wolff, was killed while attempting to take refuge in the fort. Before the end of the war, the settlers were compelled to seek safety at Fort Dayton, at the village of Herkimer. Mr. Wolff, however, survived the war, and was, in 1790, one of the first to sign a remonstrance against the erection of the County of Herkimer. His descendants now hold high positions. The settlement of New Peterboro or Germantown, was important and ambitious enough to claim the location of the court house and jail for the new County of Herkimer, at its organization, in 1791.

Hasenclever also built a dam and saw-mill on the stream now called Sterling's creek, by the early settlers named Staring's creek, by the Indians Rasceloth and by the French Rassëdot.

The following is a rendering of this document in English:

Mr. George Dacheteter, give, on the presentation of this, to Peter Moulder and George Cronhard, one whole freight of corn, for the account of Mr. Peter Hasenclever, of New York, for which Mr. George Herckheimer will guarantee the payment of 5s. per skipple, to the amount of £6 5s.

Dated Petersburgh, the 25th February, 1768.

(Signed,) J. Wolff.

[Good for 25 Skipples of Corn, at £6 5s.]

Autograph memorandum signed by Cornelius Glen, of goods left at General Herkimer's, near Little Falls, 17 February, 1763.

Autograph order of George Herkimer, for four skipples of corn, dated Burnetsfield, 20 July, 1768, written in German. A skipple was a dry measure for three pecks, in general use on the Mohawk. The name of the signer is here spelled Georg Herchkeimer. This name is said to be derived from the town of Herchkeim, in the Rhenish Palatinate, and not far from Manheim. Malte Brun's Geography gives the orthography Herscheim. It is a place of about 2,500 inhabitants.

Autograph order written in German, of John R. Quackenboss, in favor of Hans Jost Herkimer, dated at Albany, 7 February, 1770. Hans Jost was a family name, and belonged both to the father and brother of the General. It may be rendered in English, John Joseph.

Memorandum of several tracts of land in German Flats District, allotted to General Herkimer. S. D.

Autograph letter from Jacob Cuyler, dated Albany, 21 May, 1773, addressed to General Herkimer, at Canajohara. It acknowledges the receipt of three bundles of beaver, and advises of forwarding a box of glass. From this it may be inferred that the General was, like his father, engaged in the Indian trade.

Account of John Vaughan against General Herkimer, for £5 5s., for merchandise, dated ——— 1774.

Unsigned letter dated Conjaderaga, 14 December, 1774. Relates to private matters. The place may be Canaderago Lake, at one time called Schuyler's Lake, near Richfield Springs, where some of the family were settled.

Unsigned order for drafting eighteen men from Colonel Herkimer's battalion, for the expedition against Canada in June, 1775.

Autograph letter of Charles Gordon, dated Canajoharie, 12 September, 1777, relating to the settlement of Gen. Herkimer's estate. This man having some pecuniary transactions in which the general was also interested, complains that Peter S. Dygert is arrogating to himself the management of the estate, and craves the interference of George Herkimer, surviving brother of the general. The general had not been dead a month. The writer says, that he always found the general to be a true man. The general's will dated 7 February, 1777, was not admitted to probate until 1783. Peter S. Dygert was the father of the general's widow.

Autograph letter of Christopher P. Yates, dated Palatine, 15 March, 1779, addressed to the magistrates residing in Canajoharie District. Mr. Yates was the chairman of the Tryon County Committee of Safety. Canajoharie District extended on the south side of the river, from Mohawk District to Fallberg or Fall Hill, near Little Falls. Mr. Yates was the first lawyer in the county, took an active part in favor of the cause of the colonies, was frequently in the assembly and held other offices of honor and trust. His chirography is neat and elegant.

Autograph letter of John Lansing, Jr., dated Albany, 10 June, 1780, addressed to George Herkimer, Esq., at Canajoharie. Relates to some legal proceedings. After serving in the war of Independence Mr. Lansing held several important offices, and was a member of the convention which framed the Constitution. Being opposed to the principles of government adopted by the convention he seceded from that body. He was Chief Justice of the Supreme Court and Chancellor of the State. He died 12 December, 1829, not without suspicion of violence.

Depositions of Martin Van Sleyck and Peter P. Schuyler, 26 January, 1781, concerning a charge of perjury taken before George

Herkimer, Esq., justice, with autographs of two of the persons named.

Autograph letter of Abraham Van Horn, High Sheriff of Montgomery county, dated 26 March, 1785. Relates to private matters.

Autograph letter of Hendrick Frey, dated at Freyburgh, 26 November, 1785. This place is not now well known, but from the Frey family was derived the name of Frey's Bush. The latter word was the common designation in early times in New York for a settlement in the woods, and is still commonly used in that sense in Canada and Australia. It has been unfortunately superseded since the war of Independence by such terminations of local names as "corners" and "ville." This place has been recently called by a person well acquainted with it simply "The Frey Farm." It is near Fort Plain. Hendrick Frey was a prominent loyalist before and during the war, and remained afterwards in the valley. His brother Bernard is said to have been actually present in the camp of St. Leger (or Silinger as he was popularly called) before Fort Stanwix. Another brother was the patriot Major John Frey who was the first Sheriff of Tryon county elected in 1775 by a popular vote; and the first in the State so chosen and the last for forty years afterwards. Hendrick Frey married Elizabeth the sister of General Herkimer. The Frey family emigrated from Zurich in Switzerland, in 1688, to the valley of the Mohawk.

Autograph letter of Christopher P. Yates to George Herkimer, dated Frey's Bush, 9 April, 1788, recommending certain candidates for the Assembly, Senate and Convention that had been authorized to act upon the subject of the proposed Constitution of the United States. The names of the candidates which were originally contained in the letter, probably on a separate piece of paper, are not now there; but those intended for the Convention were undoubtedly the ones who were actually chosen at the ensuing election. They were, for Montgomery county, John Frey, William Harper, Henry Staring, Volkert Veeder, John Winn and Christopher P. Yates, the last named being the writer of this letter. They were opposed to the ratification of the Constitution, and were chosen as anti-Federalists. It is even now, at least sentimentally, to be regretted that these patriotic gentlemen should have taken so narrow a view of the comprehensive scope, well-guarded provisions, symmetrical character and beneficent design of the Federal Constitution. For by their success the vote of

Montgomery county, which included all the inhabited parts of the State west of Albany county, was, nominally at least, recorded in opposition to the measure. But the good name of the State was destined to be redeemed by the watchful energy, the matchless eloquence, the ready argument, the lofty courage and profound knowledge of the gallant Creole, Alexander Hamilton, who was also a member of the Convention, and of whom it has been said, that the people of the United States owe it to him that they have a Constitution. His exertions snatched a victory from the jaws of defeat. Perhaps, however, Mr. Yates and his associates were biased by the controlling influence of Chief Justice Robert Yates and Chancellor Lansing, of Albany, both of whom had been members of the Convention which shaped the Constitution, and had taken the decisive step of withdrawing from its deliberations, and who were at this time exerting their energies for its rejection. They both, it is believed, had an extensive influence in the valley.

It has been intimated that some of the anti-Federalists withdrew from the Poughkeepsie Convention in order to allow of the adoption of the Constitution. But, according to Elliot's debates, the votes of all the Montgomery county members are recorded in the negative upon the decisive questions, except that Mr. Yates was absent on the final vote.

Mr. Yates in this letter says that the adoption of the Constitution would be attended with such bad consequences that it was an indispensable duty to oppose it, and adds that Colonel Frey has entered heartily into this business. Ninety years of trial have sufficiently refuted this opinion.

Autograph letter of Peter D. Schuyler to Mrs. Alida Herkimer, dated 13 February, 1789. Recommends that she should not let her negro Pit be married by the minister, as he would then be free: states that General Herkimer once had a law suit as to a similar matter. Schuyler was not a lawyer. He married Elizabeth Barbara, the eldest sister of General Herkimer, and was the father of Hans Jost Schuyler, who acted a prominent part in the relief of Fort Stanwix. Mrs. Alida Herkimer was the wife of General Herkimer.

Autograph order of Harmanus Peek, January, 1823.

MEMORIAL.

At a special meeting of the Oneida Historical Society, January 12, 1881, the following communication from the President of the Society was read:

Messrs. Alexander Seward, Erastus Clark, Edward S. Brayton and John F. Seymour, of the Oneida Historical Society:

GENTLEMEN:—In common with all our citizens I feel a deep regret at the loss which our Society has suffered in the death of Matthew D. Bagg, Esq. He was not only a valuable member of community, held in high regard by all, but his loss will be very much felt by the Oneida Historical Society of which he was a member. Beyond most men he was familiar with the early history of this part of the State, and he ever felt a lively interest in all things relating to it. As President of your Society I request that you prepare a paper expressive of the loss which it has suffered in his death.

Very truly yours,

Utica, January 6, 1881. HORATIO SEYMOUR.

Whereupon, the special committee so appointed reported the following memorial, which was adopted and ordered to be entered in the minutes of the Society and a copy sent to the family of the deceased:

In the recent death of Matthew D. Bagg this Society has lost one of its early and most valuable members: one whose tastes and acquirements peculiarly qualified him for the work in which we are engaged, and who, during the few years of our organization, evinced deep interest in our transactions and rendered us valuable services and contributions. To a very observant mind and strong desire for information was added a remarkably retentive memory, so that few excelled him in the accuracy and extent of his knowledge, not only on historical, but on scientific, political and legal subjects. In demeanor modest, in disposition amiable, in friendship unfailing, his was a character such as is not often encountered, and it is proper that we who witnessed these qualities, associated with rare abilities and acquirements, should record our appreciation of them and our profound regret for the loss we have suffered.

THE GENEALOGY OF A UTICA NEWSPAPER.

BY ALEXANDER SEWARD.

READ BEFORE THE SOCIETY OCTOBER 29, 1878.

THE WHITESTOWN GAZETTE, 1793.

The first Newspaper printed west of Albany in this State was the *Whitestown Gazette*, at the village of New Hartford. Thus says Elisha Harrington in his Utica Directory of 1828, fifty years nearer the event than we are. It was commenced July 10, 1793. Such is the testimony of a copy of this paper in the possession of the Society, No. 7 of Vol. I., dated August 22, 1793. The proprietors were Jedediah Sanger, Samuel Wells and Elijah Risley; the printer, Richard Vanderburgh. It was discontinued the following winter, says Mr. Harrington, for want of patronage and a suitable person to conduct its operations, but was re-established in May, 1796: Samuel Wells, proprietor; William McLean, printer. The latter within a few months became the proprietor and in July, 1798, removed to Utica and issued the paper under the name of *Whitestown Gazette and Cato's Patrol*, which was continued until February, 1803, when McLean disposed of it to John H. Lothrop, who changed the name to *The Patriot*, Merrell & Seward, printers.

The second newspaper printed in this county was the *Western Centinel*, at Whitesboro; James Swords of New York, proprietor; Oliver C. Easton, printer. It was begun in January, 1794,—six months later than the Whitestown Gazette,—as appears from a copy of the Centinel, presented to the Society, dated July 17, 1798, No. 237, Vol. 5. After changing proprietors several times in a few years, the Centinel was discontinued.

In 1804, the title of The Patriot was changed to *Utica Patriot*, under which name it continued until 1816, being printed "for the editor," after 1808 by Ira Merrell, and after 1813 by Merrell & Camp. William H. Maynard succeeded Mr. Lothrop as editor in 1811.

The Patrol was commenced by Seward & Williams at Utica, January 1, 1815, and was united January 2, 1816, with the Utica

Patriot, under the style of *Utica Patriot and Patrol.* It was printed for the proprietors by Ira Merrell, and was issued semi-weekly, Tuesday and Friday, for about one year, then weekly, on Tuesdays, till 1821. The proprietors, according to its prospectus, were Asahel Seward, William H. Maynard and William Williams. The name of the editor did not appear, in those days, on the paper itself. Examination of these old newspapers shows that the part of the editor then was very different from what it is now. What is now called editorial matter seldom appears. The paper was chiefly made up of news selected from other newspapers, with the briefest editorial headings, communications and advertisements. In fact, the editor fulfilled the dictionary definition of the word—one who arranges, prepares, and superintends the publication of the work of others—a much humbler part than that of the newspaper editor of the present time.

The *Utica Sentinel* appeared in the place of the Patriot and Patrol March 13, 1821. The cause of this change of name was somewhat peculiar. The Patriot and Patrol was Clintonian in its politics; representing the sentiments of the large majority of voters in this district. The politics of the editor changed and the tone of the paper also. An alarming loss of patronage naturally followed. No arrangement being practicable between the parties in interest, the Patriot and Patrol was dropped by its publisher, under the advice of prominent Clintonian lawyers, and the Utica Sentinel, "printed by Ira Merrill for William Williams, editor and proprietor," appeared in its stead.

The Utica Sentinel was sold to Samuel D. Dakin and William J. Bacon, and by them united with the *Columbian Gazette*, and issued May 6, 1825, under the name of *Utica Sentinel and Gazette*, "printed by Northway & Bennett," till April 1, 1828, then by Northway & Porter. Messrs. Dakin & Bacon were joint editors and proprietors from 1825 till 1828, when S. D. Dakin became sole editor and owner, and in 1829 he sold it to its printers, Northway & Porter. It was published semi-weekly, till January, 1829. In 1831, Rufus Northway became the sole proprietor. Theodore S. Gold became editor after Mr. Dakin, and continued so till the establishment of the daily paper, in 1842, though Mr. Northway himself did much editorial work.

The Columbian Gazette, which was united with the Utica Sentinel, was first published at Rome, August 17, 1799, by Thomas Walker and Ebenezer Eaton, by the name of the *Columbian Patriotic Gazette*, and was removed to Utica and issued March 21,

1803, as the Columbian Gazette, by T. Walker, and continued to be so published until its union with the Sentinel, in 1825. Elisaph Dorchester was associated with Mr. Walker in its publication in 1815 and 1816.

In January, 1831, the *American Citizen*, and August 7, 1832, the *Utica Intelligencer* were united with the Sentinel and Gazette.

The Utica Intelligencer was commenced February 2, 1826, by William Tracy as editor and proprietor, and was printed by Ira Merrell for one year, and afterwards by Joseph Colwell, till its termination. E. S. Ely succeeded Mr. Tracy as editor, May 9, 1828, for two years, and was followed by Joseph H. Buckingham, from January 1 to October 5, 1830.

The first number of the American Citizen appeared June 8, 1830. George S. Wilson was the editor and proprietor. The paper was continued about half a year.

The *Elucidator*, the organ of the anti-Masonic party, was commenced January 1, 1829, by Beriah B. Hotchkin, as editor and proprietor, and was published from January 1, 1830 to May, 1834, by William Williams as proprietor. Samuel P. Lyman became the editor after the retirement of Mr. Hotchkin, January 1, 1833. It was united with the Sentinel and Gazette, and the combined paper issued May 20, 1834, under the name of the

Oneida Whig,

"R. Northway, Printer and Publisher." This paper, in which so many previous ones were merged, continued to be published weekly by R. Northway and his associates, for nearly twenty years, till October 12, 1853, when it was sold to Lyon & Arthur, and the name changed to the *Weekly Gazette*, J. M. Lyon, editor; and July 25, 1856, it was transferred to N. D. Jewell, C. J. Radford, editor, and the name became *Weekly Gazette and Courier*, by whom it was continued to January 29, 1857, when its subscription list passed into the hands of Ellis H. Roberts, the purchaser of the Utica Daily Gazette, with which it had been associated from 1842.

The Utica Daily Gazette.

This was the first daily paper published in Utica, with the exception of the *Morning News*, published for one month immediately preceding and two subsequently, by Lyon & Arthur, and edited by Jarvis M. Hatch and C. Edwards Lester. The Daily

Gazette was commenced by Rufus Northway, the publisher and proprietor of the Oneida Whig, February 1, 1842. Richard U. Sherman was its editor, and Erastus Clark and William Allen associates in the first year. Ezekiel Bacon was editor for two months following. Alexander Seward became the editor and joint proprietor May 1, 1843, and under the firm name of R. Northway & Co., it was published till the fall of 1853. Dr. H. C. Potter was associate editor from November 1, 1847, and the sole editor from May 1 to September 23, 1850, when he became part proprietor with Northway & Seward. Erastus Clark was Dr. Potter's associate editor till November 1, 1851, when Mr. Seward resumed the editorship with Dr. Potter. The establishment was sold to Lyon & Arthur, October 12, 1853, and J. M. Lyon became editor. It was bought by N. D. Jewell, July 25, 1856, who published the paper till January 29, 1857, C. J. Radford being editor, when the name and good will were purchased by Ellis H. Roberts, and united with the *Morning Herald.*

The pecuniary value of these newspapers appears to have fluctuated widely. When the Sentinel was substituted for the Patriot and Patrol, by William Williams, in 1821, he was adjudged, by arbitrators, to pay William H. Maynard $7,500 for the latter's interest in the old paper, a weekly, in a village of 3,000 inhabitants.

The Sentinel, thus dearly paid for, was sold to Dakin & Bacon four years later, 1825, for $3,500, which included $500 for the printing materials. Of this sum, $3,000 was subsequently recovered of the seller, for printing a specimen number of the American Citizen, a paper projected and subsequently published a short time by G. S. Wilson.*

In 1843, when the population of Utica had become 18,000, R. Northway sold to A. Seward one-half of the Daily Gazette and the Oneida Whig and of the printing office, for $2,250. The Gazette was then the only daily paper in Utica, and had one hundred and twenty subscribers, not one of whom lived outside of the city.

In 1853, R. Northway & Co. sold their paper and office to Lyon & Arthur, for $12,000, the circulation of the daily paper being then about 1,200, notwithstanding the existence of three other dailies—the *Observer*, *Herald* and *Telegraph.*

* See 11 Wendell's Rep., 67; 17 Id., 447; and 22 Id., 201.

THE EARLIEST FACTORIES OF ONEIDA,

AND THEIR PROJECTORS.

BY DR. M. M. BAGG.

Read before the Society July 29, 1879.

It is generally understood in this vicinity that the first mills for the manufacture of cotton goods, and also the first mills for the manufacture of woolens, which were built in the State of New York, were erected in the town of Whitestown. This, I say, is generally known and believed. The time of erection of these first mills and the agencies that were at work in their establishment, are not so well known; and with reference to these particulars, there is in fact some discrepancy of statement among those who ought to be considered as authorities. The object of this paper is to compare certain recently published communications relating to these matters, and by the aid of further inquiry to endeavor to arrive at the truth. For if early residents of Whitestown were the first of any in New York to embark in enterprises that have since become common, and productive of much of the wealth and prosperity of the State, it is worth the while to learn when these projects were begun, and who were their projectors. And if we, their successors, pride ourselves on the fact that Oneida county was the place where the first cotton and woolen mills of New York had their beginning, it is fit that we should know the grounds of our self-gratulation.

It is admitted that the earliest of these mills was the cotton factory commonly known as the Oneida, or the one which was owned and controlled by the Oneida Manufacturing Society, and which stood nearly on the site of the present "lower" or "No. One" mill of the New York Mills, a few rods south of the canal above Yorkville. Of the time and circumstances relating to its establishment two somewhat different accounts were furnished the compiler of Everts & Ferris' recently published History of Oneida County, and are printed by him on pp. 243 and 623, respectively, of his volume.

One of these accounts is from the pen of General Horace Capron of Washington, son of Dr. Seth Capron formerly of Whitesboro, who, as will be seen, was concerned in the founding of this and two other of the early factories of the county. General Capron gives some particulars of much interest relating to all of them; but while unable to refer to manuscript records, and writing from memory only of occurrences that took place sixty or seventy years since, of some of which he was not personally cognizant, it is natural that he should be sometimes in error, especially with respect to dates. Yet as he tells us that one motive which led him to embrace the privilege accorded him by the compiler of the above work was to "aid in establishing a more correct history of the county, by pointing out several errors in dates that have crept into some of the existing histories," it is reasonable to expect of him in this matter of dates a greater degree of accuracy than he has been able to show. While, therefore, we are grateful to him for his communication, embodying, as it does, personal reminiscences of the pioneers in these enterprises, a sketch of his father, and many incidents of much value, the truth of history requires that his statements should be examined side by side with those made by others, and compared likewise so far as possible with existing manuscript records.

The following is an extract from General Capron's account of the origin of the Oneida Factory.

"The first cotton-mill erected in the State of New York was the Oneida Factory, established in 1807. This was of brick, and stood in the vicinity of the site of the present York Mills. It was intended for the production of cotton-yarn only, and was in operation long before the introduction of the power-loom. The originator of this enterprise was Dr. Seth Capron, the father of the writer of this letter. Associated with him were counsellor Gold, Theodore Sill, Newton Mann and others. About this time Benjamin S. Walcott, then a young man, who afterwards established the York Mills, was induced to emigrate from Rhode Island, because of his knowledge of spinning machinery, which he had acquired under Samuel Slater. He began as superintendent of the spinning department, and in 1809, was appointed agent of the mill, which was then in operation."

On page 623 of the above mentioned history is another account of the beginning of this factory written by Leander S. Wood of New York Mills, who has lived in the village all his life, has worked in the factory since 1825, and is the son of Ezra Wood, who was connected with it from the year 1818. From this we extract also a passage :

"In the winter of 1807–8 a joint stock company was formed in Whitestown of which Hon. Thomas R. Gold, Hon. Theodore Sill, General George Doolittle and Jesse W. Doolittle were prominent members. This company was incorporated by the Legislature under the name of "The Oneida Manufacturing Society," with a nominal capital of $200,000, and chartered with banking privileges. Mr. Walcott* of Rhode Island, as their representative, in 1808, erected a three-and-one-half-story brick building, known as the Oneida Factory. * * * In 1809, Mr. Benjamin S. Walcott† as agent of the company, procured the requisite machinery and began to card and spin cotton, making mostly coarse yarn, which was put out to families to weave."

In a comparison of the two accounts there appears to be a difference of about a year in the alleged time of erection of the building, and a much greater discrepancy in the mention of the agents by whom the work was effected, inasmuch as Mr. Wood says nothing of Dr. Capron by whom as his son tells us, the factory was built. Leaving aside this latter point, except as it will be noticed incidentally, let us first examine a little further the question of the date of building and of starting of the factory.

The book which contains the record of proceedings of the Oneida Manufacturing Society is still extant, and although during the first two years these proceedings are but partially and imperfectly set forth, we are enabled by means of it, aided by deeds on record in the office of the County Clerk, to learn the following items of the earlier history of this factory. The land and water privilege designed for its use were bought of Amos Wetmore, February 2d, 1808, the purchasers being Seth Capron, Newton Mann, Asher Wetmore and William M. Cheever. Of these parties Dr. Seth Capron, the probable prime mover, will be noticed hereafter. Newton Mann, his brother-in-law, was a merchant at Whitesboro, Asher Wetmore was a son, and Wm. M. Cheever a son-in-law, of Amos Wetmore, the former being the manager of the grist and saw mills previously erected by Amos Wetmore, at Yorkville, then known as Wetmore's Mills, and the latter living nearly opposite them. Soon after this purchase Messrs. Thomas R. Gold and Theodore Sill, well known lawyers then practicing at Whitesboro, and Benjamin S. Walcott, Sr., who had just arrived from Rhode Island, obtained an interest in common with the above named parties, and the co-partners assumed the name of

* The writer here intends Benjamin S. Walcott, Senior, father of the late B. S. Walcott.

† Benjamin S. Walcott, Junior.

"Walcott & Co." At their first recorded meeting, held May 30, 1808, Mr. Cheever was appointed agent to build a dam across the Sauquoit, and to procure timbers and contract for the erection of a building for the use of the factory. This was accomplished in the course of the year ensuing, a building having been put up which was 60x35 feet in dimension and three stories high, and also two dwelling houses and a machine shop. Mr. Wetmore contracted to build the floom and Mr. Walcott the building. The latter was a practical manufacturer who had learned the business at the Cumberland Mill in Rhode Island, and was invited hither, as it is said, by the projectors of the work. In the spring of 1809, he was joined by his son B. S. Walcott, Jr., and together they finished the building and mill work, that is the water-wheel and shafting, and put in the machinery. Though this latter statement does not appear on the records, it was so represented by the late B. S. Walcott as well as by several others now deceased who were conversant with the early history of the mill.

From a conveyance recorded in the office of the County Clerk and dated, October 28, 1809, we learn that the shares held by the respective partners were made by said conveyance to be as follows: Seth Capron, William M. Cheever, Asher Wetmore and B. S. Walcott, Sr., each one-tenth, Newton Mann, B. S. Walcott, Jr., each two-tenths, and Gold and Sill, jointly, two-tenths. In November, 1809, the firm bought cotton and other materials and began the spinning of cotton yarn. Their first public advertisement is dated November 13th, and is subscribed by all the co-partners; it sets forth that the mill is now in operation, and invites the public to aid and cherish an institution calculated to support the independence of the country. The name of the elder Walcott now disappears from the records, he having returned to the east, and his son is made superintendent, or agent as it had been termed in the advertisement.

On the 9th of March, 1810, an act was passed by the Legislature of the State, to incorporate the "Oneida Manufacturing Society." This act, having set forth in the preamble that the before mentioned parties had, at great expense, erected a cotton factory at Whitestown, which is now in successful operation, and the desire of its builders to extend their establishment to the manufacture of wool, scythes, axes, &c., proceeds to incorporate them under the above title, with a capital of $200,000, to be managed by trustees elected annually who are to make regulations as to stock and other property. It was also provided that the act was not to impair the

existing contract between Messrs. B. S. Walcott, Sr., Gold, Capron, Mann, Sill, Cheever and Wetmore, of the first part, and B. S. Walcott, Jr. of the second part, respecting agency and superintendence. About this time the firm determined to sell $8,000 of their stock, the purchasers to become interested from the first of April next ensuing, which was to be the date of their first payment. And on the 7th of May, 1810, was held the first meeting of stockholders of the "Oneida Manufacturing Society." Five trustees were elected to manage the concerns of the Society, viz: G. G. Lansing, (President,) Theodore Sill, Thaddeus B. Wakeman, Seth Capron and William M. Cheever. Dr. Capron was president of this Board during the five years included between 1811 and 1815, and Theodore Sill for five years thereafter. Mr. Walcott was superintendent until October, 1812, when he was succeeded by Dr. Capron, who performed the duties until November, 1816, when they were again devolved upon Mr. Walcott. The latter had been engaged during part of the intervening time in building machinery for the company, and in 1817–18, he was their out-of-doors agent.

It will have been observed that during all this period the factory was employed in spinning yarn only. This they sent out to their agents in the villages of Whitesboro, Utica, New Hartford and Rome, as well as more distant places, by whom it was sold. An establishment for weaving by hand-looms, known as the Whitesboro Cloth Factory, and incorporated April 19, 1811, and which was located on Canal street in that village, the company bought. It was reorganized by Dr. Capron, run on their account for about three years, and then leased.

The weaving of cotton cloth by means of the power-loom was not introduced into this country until the fall of 1812, when it was put in operation at Waltham, Mass., and soon after at other mills in that vicinity.* The process was, however, kept secret. To obtain the knowledge of this secret, William B. Copley, a machinist in the employ of the Capron Company, went to Pawtucket, R. I., where these power-looms were in use, and engaged himself to labor as a simple operative. Having thus become possessed of the requisite information, he left the mill, without waiting to take up his wages, and returned to this county. Under a joint contract made with the Oneida and the Capron Companies, he built power-looms for both of these factories. This contract, as appears from the record-book of the latter company, also extant, is dated De-

* Appleton's New Encyclopœdia.

cember 5, 1817. The power-loom presently superseded the old method of weaving by hand, and formed a new era in the history of the factory.

The next manufactory organized in the county was that commonly known as the Oriskany Woolen Factory, which was situated on the bank of the Oriskany creek, in the village of that name. "Its erection," says General Capron, in the letter before referred to, "must have been cotemporaneous, or nearly so, with the Oneida Factory, since, from the best evidence I can command, work upon the former was begun in 1809, two years before the charter for the incorporation of the enterprise could be obtained from the Legislature." This assertion is based upon his recollection of what is contained in two papers upon the subject, written one by S. Newton Dexter and the other by Hon. Mr. Dudley. Neither of these papers, as he has since informed the writer, has he had the opportunity of inspecting for ten years or more, nor can they be now produced.

Turning again to the secretary's book of the Oneida Manufacturing Society, we find therein recorded what are doubtless the first steps that were taken towards the founding of this Oriskany Factory. Under date of May 3, 1810—four days before the first meeting of stockholders of the Oneida Society—it was "resolved that the company purchase of G. G. Lansing a site for water privilege with ten acres of land at and for the price of $1,000, payable in stock at 40 per cent. advance, and that the committee appointed to sell stock negotiate with Colonel Lansing for the same." At the same time a committee was appointed to take into consideration the most eligible way of building a *cotton* factory on the site thus purchased. And on the 26th of the same month they decided to go forward in their undertaking. But on the 11th of July they voted to subscribe five hundred shares in the stock of "the new company," appointed a committee to circulate a subscription paper for stock in this *new* company, and three days later authorized Theodore Sill to subscribe therein five hundred shares in behalf of their society. Here, then, it appears that the society abandoned the intention of building the factory themselves and entrusted the work to another association, formed, in part at least, of the same members. Concurrent with the first mention of this new company, viz., July 10, 1810, is the date of a document in the possession of the Oneida Historical Society, which would seem to be the original subscription thus directed to be put in circulation. It is

entitled a subscription for the purpose of erecting a cotton, woolen and iron factory on the Oriskany creek near the house of Colonel Lansing, and has annexed thereto a plan for its construction. Subscriptions were to be paid to Gerrit G. Lansing, Seth Capron and Samuel S. Breese, who were to be trustees until an incorporation had taken place. On this paper there are in all fifty-nine subscribers, mostly citizens of Whitesboro and of Utica, and among them appears the name of Theodore Sill in behalf of the Oneida Manufacturing Society. The record-book of this new society—the Oriskany Manufacturing Society—is also in existence. From it we learn that the company was organized in accordance with the terms of the above mentioned subscription paper, and held its first meeting of stockholders on the 11th of April, 1811, the act of incorporation having passed the Legislature on the 16th of February previous. The directors then elected were Gerrit G. Lansing, Jeremiah Van Rensselaer, Samuel S. Breese, William G. Tracy and William Carpender.

The original plan of this society seems to have been "to erect a cotton, iron and woolen factory." In the contract they made with the Oneida Society, July 14, 1810, wherein the latter agreed to convey to them the ten acres of land and the site on the Oriskany creek, which this parent society had previously bought, this parent society agreed, also, to furnish the new factory with all kinds of machinery in their possession. In April of the following year, they were applied to, to take back the machinery they had contracted to build, and, soon after, to furnish the Oriskany with woolen in lieu of the cotton previously ordered. On the 9th of August this Oneida Company entertained a proposition from the one at Oriskany, asking advice as to the course they thought best to be taken by the latter, whether to embark in the manufacture of cotton or of woolen. Their opinion was given in favor of woolen, and about the same time they agreed to assist the company at Oriskany in disposing of their cotton machinery. This was subsequently effected, this machinery having been sold to the company at Newport. Thus it will be seen that six months after the passage of the act incorporating the Oriskany Company, and fifteen months after the conception of the enterprise, the land being in possession and the building nearly completed, the company were but just reaching a conclusion as to the kind of business in which they would engage. In the course of the next three months, they had bought wool, of the Mt. Merino Association and elsewhere, had engaged their operatives and begun the making of woolen goods.

"The next cotton factory," says General Capron, "was the Capron, erected in New Hartford, and which closely followed the Oneida Factory, both of which were established by Dr. S. Capron, and of both of which he was the largest proprietor. Associated with him in this work were Jeremiah Van Rensselaer, Asahel Seward and others. * * * Dr. Bagg* states that the Capron factory went into operation in 1814, which is, I am sure, an error, as I well remember the building of the factory, and that here was used the first power-loom for weaving cotton erected in the Empire State, which was about 1812; and although the mill was not in full operation, much of the machinery was running, and had been for some time."

That General Capron is at fault in respect to the date of beginning of the Capron factory, I shall presently show, and that this was not the next factory established in the county, there having been two others in existence before it, is proved by the secretary's minutes of the Oneida Society. These were the mill of the New Hartford Manufacturing Society, located in the village of that name, and that of the Whitestown Cotton and Woolen Manufacturing Society, known also as Walcott's factory, and likewise as the Buhr-stone—from its having been previously used for preparing mill-stones—which was situated above all of the present structures of the New York Mills Company, and near the New Hartford line. The former of these, the New Hartford Company, was incorporated by a special act, March 30, 1810, and would seem, therefore, to have been but little later in origin than the Oriskany. The latter, the Walcott or Buhr-stone factory, organized, January 23, 1813, under a general manufacturing law that was passed in 1811. The incorporators named in the act which created the former were Frederick Stanley, Richard Sanger, Jacob Sherrill, John Eames, Amos Hull and Joseph Kirkland. Their capital was $200,000, and they were empowered to make cotton and wool. The first mention of the association made in the minutes above referred to is under date of February 15, 1812, when a committee of the older society was appointed to meet one from that of New Hartford, in order "to make such resolutions as shall promote the interests of both establishments." So that it is fair to presume that the New Hartford Society was then organized and had begun its work. And on the 24th of December, 1813, a committee was authorized to concert with the Newport, (Herkimer

* Pioneers of Utica.

county,) New Hartford and Walcott's (Whitestown) Societies on the subject of purchasing cotton at the South. In the year 1812 there were woolen factories in operation at Ballston, at Poughkeepsie, at Hudson and elsewhere in the State.

The Capron was not founded until 1814, as will be seen from the following data: The first reference to this factory is found in the land records of the county, by examination of which it appears, from a deed therein recorded and dated on the 3d day of January, 1814, that Seth Capron and Nathan Seward bought of Arthur Perry eleven acres of land, being a part of lot No. 108 in Freemason's Patent, and that after the disposal by said Capron to said Seward of about one-half an acre of the same, these parties sold the remainder to the trustees of the Capron Cotton Manufacturing Company on the 14th of April, 1814. On the same day, Nathan Seward and wife, Asahel Higby and wife, and Asahel Seward and wife, also sold a part of lot No. 108 in said patent to the directors of the same company, "with the right of water from the pond above and adjoining the paper-mill, and of conveying it in the most easy and convenient manner to and for the use of the cotton factory intended to be erected on the premises hereby granted, so as to operate with sufficient speed 2,000 spindles, with the machine shops and picking machine."*

Nearly cotemporaneous with the date of the above mentioned sale is the certificate of incorporation of the Capron Company, a copy of which, as certified by the Deputy Secretary of State, is in possession of the Oneida Historical Society. It is as follows: "To whom it may concern: This may certify that Seth Capron, Nathan Seward, Jeremiah Van Rensselaer, Asahel Higby, Asahel Seward, Thomas R. Gold and Herbert B. Mann, all of the town of Whitestown in the county of Oneida, have associated, by the name of the Capron Cotton Manufacturing Company, for the purpose of manufacturing cotton yarn and cloth, and that the amount of the capital stock of the said company consists of one thousand

*The paper-mill alluded to as previously existing, stood on the Sauquoit within the limits of the present town of New Hartford, contiguous to what became the site of the Capron, now Utica Cotton Company factory. It was built in 1807 by Leonard Kellogg & Co., a firm consisting of Leonard Kellogg, Nathan Seward, Asahel Higby and Thomas Sayles. The interests of Kellogg and Sayles were bought by Asahel Seward, of Utica, in 1810–11, who, after the death of his father, Colonel Nathan Seward, in 1815, conducted the same till 1824, when it was sold to the cotton company. The Capron factory was burnt October 14, 1822, and on being rebuilt in 1824, the title of the corporation was changed to Utica Cotton Manufacturing Company.

shares, each share consisting of one hundred dollars, and that the number of directors is five, and that the names of the directors who shall manage the concerns of the said association the first year are Seth Capron, Nathan Seward, Jeremiah Van Rensselaer, Asahel Higby and Asahel Seward; and we further certify that the manufacturing operations of the said company are to be carried on in the town of Whitestown in the county of Oneida. Dated at Whitestown, this fifth day of April, one thousand eight hundred and fourteen."

Thus it appears that at this time the Capron factory was only "intended to be erected," but not yet in being, and that General Capron is again in fault in his attempts to "correct several errors in dates that have crept into some of the existing histories of the county." The only previous historian of Oneida county is Judge Pomroy Jones, who gives correctly the year of incorporation of the Oriskany factory, and does not mention the time of founding of either of the others. "The Pioneers of Utica" treats but incidentally of the county at large, and only of such events as the citizens of Utica took part in. Such dates as it gives of the matters now in question conform to those herein stated.

That General Capron should fail in respect to dates is by no means strange, when we consider that he relies almost wholly on his memory in the narration of events which occurred in his extreme youth. Still he has related particulars of much interest; and for his efforts "to do justice to the memory of the pioneers in the introduction of one of the most important industries ever developed in the Empire State"—a second and the prevailing motive for writing his letter—we are truly grateful. That he has not departed from the truth in crediting his father with the origination of these enterprises, I am quite disposed to believe. From the account I have presented of the recorded proceedings of the Oneida Society and the deeds copied from the official records of the county, from the subscription paper that heralded the establishment of the mill at Oriskany, and from the certificate of incorporation of the Capron mill, it is evident that Dr. Seth Capron was a leading man in all of these undertakings. It is seen that he was one of the first board of directors in three of them, that his name heads the list on two. Of the Oneida he was chairman of the board for five successive years, and likewise four years their superintendent, and in this board no member served on more numerous and important committees. Of the Oriskany, also, he was a trustee from 1811 to 1815.

Dr. Capron came to Whitesboro, in 1806, from Cumberland, Rhode Island, where, in 1798, the hands employed by Samuel Slater had introduced from Pawtucket the Arkwright processes of spinning cotton which Slater first brought from England, in 1790, and established at Providence, and afterwards at Pawtucket.* It was at Cumberland doubtless, that Dr. Capron became impressed with the practicability and importance of this kind of industry. Though trained as a physician, and for some years after his residence still engaged in the practice of it, he soon began to interest his neighbors in the subject which had taken so strong a hold upon his own mind. The preliminaries in the enterprise were not the work of a day; prejudices and obstacles attended every movement. Every thing was to be taught and every thing learned, while capital available for such work was exceedingly limited. He met these prejudices, and overcame these obstacles. He organized the company, furnished a portion of the requisite funds and stimulated others to contribute of theirs, and took a leading part in the purchase of the land and the development of the water power. According to his son, who is sustained in this assertion by the brother of the latter, six years older than himself,—as quoted in a letter to the writer from General Capron,—he built the factory, and when it was partially completed, invited Mr. Walcott to come from Rhode Island and take charge of it. Even if the truth of this declaration should not be fully admitted,—and I think I have shown that there is reason to doubt it,—he certainly seems to have been the projector and prime-mover of the work. He preceded and prepared the way for his townsman of Cumberland, a more practised workman than himself, and if he did not build the factory he was the head of the company that did build it.

His agency in the inception and organization of the Oriskany factory, even without the testimony of his son, can not be questioned. And when we learn of the numerous flocks of costly sheep maintained on his farms in Deerfield by him and his colleagues of the Mt. Merino Association to supply the finer kinds of wool for the factory, and which were sold at his failure, we may well believe that this factory not less than the Oneida absorbed his thoughts, and taxed his energies. "Taking into consideration," remarks his son, "the large price paid for a single sheep—$1,000,—cost of attendance, risk by sea and land, and time required to place the stock in Oneida county, under the then existing circumstances, it will be readily

* Appleton's New Encyclopœdia.

seen that the importation of wool-producing animals was no trifling undertaking." And in a letter to the writer he says further, "I have often, in more matured years, heard my father talk of the trials and tribulations of that early period. The facts that I relate are not the coinage of my own brain; the remembrance of them is implanted in my very existence. I know my father's agency in this work, and the sacrifices that he made."

The result of the sacrifices he incurred in the carrying out of his various projects,—the Capron mill just begun as well as of the two that had preceded it,—is made evident by an examination of our county records. When peace was declared with England and the importation of foreign products, suspended by the war, was again renewed, the manufactured cottons and woolens of Oneida, the blooded sheep of Dr. Capron and his associates, fell so greatly in value, as to curtail, or wholly stop the working of the mills, and to overwhelm their projector with ruin. In the summer of 1816, he signed over to his creditors the whole of his real and personal property, excepting only his dwelling house, including various parcels of land in Deerfield and elsewhere, that amounted in all to nearly 1,000 acres, 500 half-blooded Merinoes, 175 shares of Oneida and 222 of Capron mills stock, his notes, bonds, &c. At this time he retired from the superintendency and trusteeship of the Oneida Company. About two years later he was made superintendent of the mill at Oriskany and removed there to occupy that position until his withdrawal from the county in 1825. The business of manufacturing continued to interest him, and the construction and running of factories formed the occupation of the rest of his life. Going hence to Walden in Orange county, he became the principal agent in establishing a large woolen factory, and also, with his son a cotton mill, and was instrumental in giving life to that now flourishing village. And there he died September 9th, 1835, at the age of seventy-three.

Few men have led more active lives; few, by their ardor, their enterprise, their perseverance and industry, by their conciliation and persuasive honesty of purpose, their patriotism and self-sacrifice, have done more for their generation and their commonwealth. He may have been over sanguine and incautious, too assured of prosperity to refrain from engaging in more numerous and greater ventures than he had the means to carry to perfection. Or he may have been simply the victim of a commercial storm which ordinary prudence could not or would not, have averted. But if wrecked

himself, he was the navigator who planned the voyage and led others along the track; like many another discoverer and inventor, he came short of success in a course wherein he opened up to others the avenue to wealth. I would not derogate from the credit that is due to the other patriotic men who were concerned with him in his earlier projects, still less deny the obligations we owe to the late Benjamin S. Walcott for the practical knowledge and the very efficient aid which marked his superintendency from the outset and characterized it to its close, nor to the ripened skill and the wondrous executive ability which have crowned with prosperity the later labors of himself and his colleagues. Yet I crave for the projector his share of the merit of conceiving and of giving impulse to the enterprise. Assuredly to Dr. Seth Capron is Oneida county indebted for much of that abundance she is now reaping from her splendid factories, and with its history his name equally with that of the Walcotts, Marshal and Campbell should ever be identified.

ANDREW A. BARTOW,

And the Discovery of WATER-LIME in this Country.

BY SAMUEL EARL.

Read before the Society, November 9, 1880.

I have recently become possessed of some old letters and papers which belonged to the late Andrew A. Bartow, who for many years resided in Herkimer county, and was one of the honored and useful citizens of Central New York. These letters and papers were placed at my disposal by his two daughters, now advanced in years, and who at the present time are temporarily residing in Herkimer. I propose to leave these letters and papers with this Society. They are somewhat interesting as coming from persons whose names were prominently before the public more than a half-century ago, and who were connected with the early history of the canals of this State. Mr. Bartow was the intimate associate of those persons, and was in the service of the State on the Erie canal from the time it was commenced until it was completed in 1825. And during the whole progress of this great undertaking he was a most useful and efficient agent of the State in all of the various and important trusts confided to him.

It is probably known to some of the persons here present, that before work was commenced on the Erie canal, the material called Water-Lime was not known to exist in this country, and that it was supposed it would be necessary to import the Tarras, or Roman cement, to be used in the construction of the canal. But just at the proper time, and when the question as to making provision for the importation of water-cement was being considered by the State officials, a limestone theretofore supposed to be a spurious kind of limestone, and of no use for any purpose, was found on the line of the canal in Madison and Onondaga counties, which, by experiments made, was found to form cement which would harden under water. This was a most timely discovery. The material was found right at hand which was indispensable in the construction of the locks and aqueducts on the canal, and which

has since become throughout the country a prime necessity in all kinds of hydraulic masonry.

I claim for Mr. Bartow that he was the original discoverer of Water-Lime in this country, and I propose in this paper to present the proof which, I think, sustains the claim I make.

I am well aware that the discovery of this important article in this country is accorded to Canvass White, a native of this county, who was one of the chief assistant engineers on the Erie canal, and actively and responsibly engaged as such during the whole progress of its construction. I am aware, also, that before the canal was commenced Mr. White was sent by the Erie canal officials to England, to procure mathematical instruments for use in constructing the canal, and while there to make observations in regard to canals. While abroad, it is said, Mr. White paid attention to the use of the article known as Roman cement. It was then thought that kind of cement would have to be imported for the Erie canal. The State officials, as early as 1818, had been advised by Benjamin Wright, the chief engineer upon the canal, that quicklime would not do for the construction of the locks, and that provision ought to be made for the importation of Tarras, or Roman cement, for that purpose.

After Canvass White's return from Europe, and in the year 1818 or 1819, the discovery was made that the limestone on the line of the canal in Madison and Onondaga counties, which had been previously regarded as wholly useless, was suitable for making a water-proof cement. Experiments and tests were made, which resulted in determining the fact that Roman cement could be dispensed with in the construction of the canal, and that ample material for hydraulic cement was near at hand.

The question to which I wish to invite your attention is, who is really entitled to the credit of the first discovery in this country of this indispensable article; whether Canvass White, to whom the honor belongs, if we take as granted what appears in his favor in the public prints and official documents on that subject, or Andrew A. Bartow, whose name, so far as I have been able to discover, has never been publicly or officially connected with its discovery?

From the letters and papers I have the honor of presenting to this Society at this time, I feel warranted in saying that the honor of this discovery belongs to Mr. Bartow, and not to Mr. White. The evidence contained in these letters would, in my opinion, be deemed sufficient before any court or jury to establish the claim of Bartow to this honor.

In behalf of Mr. White it is claimed that he made the discovery of the cement after repeated experiments in 1818; and it is true that in 1820 a patent was issued to him for the discovery. Under this patent White put in a claim to be remunerated by the State for the cement used upon the canal, which had been purchased from other parties. He claimed it was manufactured and put upon the market in violation of his patent; and for this violation he commenced several suits, and recovered judgment in one of them for $1,700 damages against one Timothy Brown. From what I can learn of this case, it appears that Captain Brown, as he was called, had furnished a large amount of Water-Lime for the use of the State on the canal, and that *White* in virtue of his patent claimed a royalty of four cents a bushel, and because it was not paid brought suit, which resulted in the judgment against Brown. In 1825, Brown petitioned the Legislature for relief against this judgment, and in his petition alleged that he furnished the cement for the construction of the canal at its then usual price, without taking into account the four cents per bushel royalty charged by White; and as the State had the benefit of the cement at four cents per bushel less than it would have cost if the charges of *White*, the patentee, had been paid, and as he, Brown, considered himself acting under the countenance of the acting canal commissioners, he thought it just and reasonable to ask of the State an indemnity against the judgment so recovered against him by *White*. The committee of the Legislature to which the petition of Brown was referred, reported in his favor, and to prevent further prosecutions under the patent against those who had furnished cement for the construction of the canal, unanimously recommended that the sum of $10,000 be paid to Mr. White, on condition of his assigning and assuring to the people of this State the full right forever to use the cement, and of his discharging his judgment against Brown, and all claims against him and all and every of the citizens of this State for or on account of any infringement of his patent. This report, which is dated February 11, 1825, concludes as follows: "And as Mr. White agrees to accept said sum upon the conditions aforesaid, the committee ask leave to introduce a bill."

I can not find that the report of the committee was adopted. At all events, no act was passed granting any relief to Mr. Brown. He probably appealed from the judgment, and quite likely defeated the patent. How it is I do not know, and it is not material to my present purpose to inquire.

I mention the foregoing facts because it is undisputed that Canvass White took out the patent for this cement, and was popularly supposed to be entitled to the credit of the discovery.

And now, before producing the proofs which I claim show that Bartow and not White is entitled to this credit, I will briefly state what the daughters of Mr. Bartow say of their father's connection with the discovery of the cement. They say, and their memory extends back to that period, that at the time the locks on the canal at or near Syracuse were about being built, he ranged all over the county of Onondaga for stones suitable for that purpose. That one of the duties with which he was charged was to select and contract for the materials for the locks; and for that purpose he visited the stone quarries and stone ledges in the vicinity and examined the quality of the stone. That on some occasion, when he was on a tour of inspection of stone quarries in Onondaga county, his attention was attracted to a different kind of limestone from what he was familiar with, found in the town of Manlius; and he took a specimen and examined it, and while looking at it some farmers were present, and he asked them what kind of stone it was, and they replied that it was a bastard limestone. That no use could be made of it. That some of the farmers had tried to use it as plaster by grinding it and putting it on their corn, and they found that it was good for nothing and would become hard. It occurred to Mr. Bartow to take a specimen of the stone and place it in his cabinet, as was his custom to do with the different kinds of stone he found. He brought the specimen with him to his lodgings, and among others showed it to two English masons, who were brothers, by the name of Horn, and who were then at work on the canal. These masons had worked on the Duke of Bridgewater's canal, in England, and were familiar with the use of Roman cement, and with the stone from which it was made. After examining the stone, they told Mr. Bartow that it was an inferior kind of limestone, and that it looked very much like the stone from which the Roman cement was made. The curiosity of Bartow was now excited to know the value of the stone, and he resolved upon making experiments with it. To that end he hired the use of a blacksmith shop, and as he could not have the use of it on a week day, he took it to use on Sunday. He shut himself up in the shop, and worked all Sunday in burning the stone and pulverizing it, and in making experiments with it. He was so elated with the results of his Sunday work, that he took some of the stone to Prof. James Hadley, of the Fairfield Medical College, and together

with that learned chemist, he made further experiments, and finally demonstrated the fact that the stone produced a perfect water-proof cement. The daughters of Mr. Bartow distinctly remember the fact of his bringing the stone to Fairfield, for Prof. Hadley to make experiments with, and they were old enough at that time to know their father's employments, and what he then said about the stone and the use to be made of it. And they say that Canvass White knew nothing of the properties of the stone until informed by their father, and that to make use of the discovery and profit out of it he paid their father $2,000, and applied for the patent, agreeing to let him have a quarter interest in the patent, in addition to the money consideration paid. It is certain that Mr. Bartow never applied for a patent, and that White did; and knowing Bartow as I did, I can imagine a satisfactory reason why, as between him and White, the latter was put forward as the discoverer, and to get the patent.

And now, before presenting Mr. White's letters on the subject of the cement and the patent, which he addressed to Mr. Bartow, I will introduce the latter by reading some papers relating to him, not as evidence on the main question which I seek to establish, but as preliminary thereto.

UTICA, 18 July, 1817.

Dear Sir:—The Canal Commissioners have appointed you their agent to procure grants of the land through which the western canal is to pass, and have agreed to allow you three dollars a day and the expenses of yourself and horse, or four dollars a day, including your compensation and all expenses. If you agree to accept the trust, you will repair immediately to Rome and report yourself to Benjamin Wright, the Engineer, who will furnish you with blank deeds and other necessary information. You will commence your operations at Utica and go on westerly. Write to me, directed at Albany, and I will furnish you with other directions if necessary.

I am yours, with esteem,

A. A. BARTOW, Esq. DE WITT CLINTON.

I do hereby authorize and empower Andrew A. Bartow, Esq., to make and conclude contracts at his discretion for the purchase and delivery of lime, sand, timber and plank at any place where they may be required for the construction of any works connected with the Erie canal on that part of the line which lies between Utica and Salina, hereby engaging to ratify and confirm all such contracts, and when they are executed to make all such payments as by said contracts said Bartow shall bind himself to make in behalf of the Canal Commissioners of the State of New York.

MYRON HOLLEY,

Dated 26 May, 1818. One of said Canal Commissioners.

The bearer hereof, Andrew A. Bartow, esquire, has been in the employ of Canal Commissioners of the State of New York since the first part of the season of 1817 to this time, and has attended to various duties as an agent for making contracts for labor and materials necessary for the work, in all of which, he has, as far as has come to my knowledge, performed the various duties to the entire satisfaction of the Commissioners and their Engineers.

Utica, State of N. York, November 17, 1821.

BENJ. WRIGHT,
Principal Engineer Erie Canal.

UTICA, November 17, 1821.

The bearer of this is Andrew A. Bartow, esquire, who has been appointed by the Board of Canal Commissioners of the State of New York, their agent for procuring cessions of land whereon the canals of this State have been located. This duty he has discharged much to their satisfaction. He has also been intrusted with various other duties in relation to the construction of the Erie canal, particularly in the procuring and selecting Water-Lime, of which he professes to be a competent judge, having had much experience in regard to it, and made more observation in regard to the peculiarities and properties of this important article than any other person of my acquaintance.

HENRY SEYMOUR,
Utica, November 17, 1821. Acting Canal Commissioner.

A. A. BARTOW, AGENT, ACCOUNT WITH CANAL COMMISSIONERS, TO THE 16TH NOVEMBER, 1821.

The Erie Canal Commissioners to A. A. Bartow, Agent. *Dr.*,

To services rendered (as per subjoined statement) from the 29th day of April, 1821, to the 16th day of November, 1821, inclusive, being 201 days, at $4 per day,..... ..... $804

STATEMENT.

Engaged to the first of June in obtaining cessions of land through the eastern section of the canal and in inspecting the Water-Lime and lime-kilns to the west to prevent adulteration.

To the first of July, occupied in examining the different stone-quarries on the eastern section, contracting for the quarries and superintending the setting of the locks and aqueducts.

To the first of August, engaged in examining for Water-Lime through the counties of Herkimer, Montgomery, Otsego, Schenectady and Albany, and occasionally in superintending the construction of the locks under Stewart, Doolittle & Butler, between Utica and the Little Falls.

To the first of September, employed as a superintendent on the line of the canal between Utica and Schenectady, examining the setting of the locks, inspecting the Water-Lime made use of, and in examining stone-quarries and the cutting of the stone.

To the first of October, occupied, with Commissioner Bouck, in estimating damages on the Mohawk river and on the Northern canal, and in measuring stone at the different quarries.

To the sixteenth of November, employed on the line of the canal between Utica and the Little Falls, making preparation to let in the water.

KINGSTON, December 9, 1825.

Doct. A. A. Bartow:

Dear Sir:—I am desirous of seeing you here with as little delay as possible, and that you may understand the object I have in view, I will in part state that I wish to have several points examined and experiments made with the Water-Lime found near the line of our canal. You will readily perceive the necessity of our having this matter attended to immediately, on account of the advanced season of the year, and that I should see you here to confer on the subject before you commence operations. I shall expect, if you are willing to engage, to see you to-morrow or Sunday; and if you decline, to hear from you by that time at farthest. With great respect,

Yours, most truly,

MAURICE WURTS,

Agent for the Delaware and Hudson Canal Company.

ROME, N. Y., 7th August, 1880.

S. Earl, Esq.:

Dear Sir:—Yours of 2d inst. was duly received. Memory in transactions of over one-half a century is not very reliable. I recollect Doctor Bartow very well. He was a sort of general agent of canal commissioners. From 1818 to 1820 I saw him often. The young scions in the Engineer Department always enjoyed his genial and frank manner. I recollect many pleasant interviews.

In regard to the cement question, I recollect he took great interest in it, when it was generally regarded with doubt, and insisted it would be a success. He discussed the matter freely with the young engineers. I well recollect the strong confidence he expressed in its success. I do not recollect that he claimed to be the original in the discovery. It was supposed Canvass White made the experiments which showed the hydraulic quality of the cement. Doct. Bartow often showed specimens of cement; he seemed always to have them in his pocket. As to the main question: Who first suggested the thing? I am not able to say.

With pleasant recollection of the genial Doct. Bartow,

I am, very truly, yours,

JOHN B. JERVIS.

Having now shown who Bartow was, and what his occupations were on the Erie canal, I am prepared to give the evidence contained in White's letters, which I think fairly show it was understood between them that Bartow was the actual discoverer of the cement. That this evidence may be fully understood, I have concluded not to extract the letters, nor state their contents, but to give them in full, and with them to give also, in their order of

time, a letter from Benjamin Wright, and the draft of two letters which were written by Bartow to White.

ALBANY, April 12, 1823.

Dear Sir:—I received a note from you by Judge Wright, stating the time you extended to me for closing the negotiation between us respecting the cement. I should have written sooner, but I was in hopes the Commissioners would do something in my behalf that would enable me to comply with your terms. I yesterday got their answer, and they refuse giving or making us any compensation whatever. I also requested J. B. Yates, Esq., to purchase your share, but he thinks you ask too much. I am not able to purchase it. I got a statement of my account respecting the sales of the cement, and that I am now more than $1,600 in debt. This has so far been a bad business for me. Now, my dear friend, what can I do? The Commissioners pay no regard to Judge Skinner's decision. They say it must be decided in Supreme Court of the United States before they will consider the patent valid. I ask of you what must be done next. The sales have been so bad that Peter Remsen & Co. do not talk as favorably as they did in proposing to pay for the part I contracted with them to take. I wish you to write to me at Lebanon, Dauphin county, Pennsylvania. I go on this morning in the steamboat. My health is not very good, but am gaining slowly. I will write you again when I get to New York, and have an understanding with P. Remsen & Co. My respects to your family.

Your affectionate friend,

A. A. BARTOW, Esq. CANVASS WHITE.

NEW YORK, April 16, 1823.

Dear Friend:—I wrote you a few days since from Albany respecting the cement, and requested you to write me at Lebanon. I have been trying to make some arrangement with P. Remsen & Co. and J. B. Yates. I find that they put a very small value on the patent, on account of the number of persons who have been engaged in manufacturing for the Commissioners; also, the number that own land on which the cement is found. These men may combine and make a good deal of trouble. Also, a great number of failures which have attended the use of it in this city and other places. It is so subject to difficulties of this kind that I begin to despair of receiving much benefit from it. The refusal of the Commissioners to make any remuneration was a great disappointment to me. I mentioned that I was considerably in debt. I am now fearful that I shall be worse off than I represented. Messrs. P. Remsen & Co. have about 700 casks on hand, and it is feared that it is all damaged. This lot, with all the charges, has cost me nearly $4 per cask. I have also 200 casks at Albany; in all, 900 now on hand. This is a bad concern for me. I have not been able to accomplish any arrangement on my own account, but have requested Mr. Yates to treat with you for your fourth part of the patent. I should be very glad to dispose of my part; that would save me from a loss. Your friend, Samuel Horn, has told Mr. Bouck that all the knowledge you possess respecting the cement you obtained from him and his brother in an improper manner. He says that you lay behind their shanty and overheard a conversation between them, which developed

their knowledge to you. This is the last part of the story. It was prefaced by a long statement of circumstances relating to the unsuccessful experiments which they made with you, and your fair propositions to reward them. These stories have some influence, however false they may be. You see, from all the circumstances combined, that the prospects are very poor for any remuneration for all the trouble and expense of the cement. My health is yet very delicate. I start for Pennsylvania this morning in low spirits. Please write to me as directed. My respects to your family.

Yours, affectionately,

A. A. BARTOW, Esq. CANVASS WHITE.

LEBANON, Lebanon County, Penn., April 25, 1823.

Dear Friend:—I wrote you a few days since from New York, and mentioned that Mr. Yates would probably make application to you for your fourth part of the patent for the hydraulic cement. As I was not able to purchase it of you, I intend you shall have your proportion of any remuneration that may be obtained from the State. This I neglected to mention in my last letter, which has induced me to write before I received an answer to my letters. I regret very much that it has not been in my power to make a final settlement before I left the State. I expect, however, to return in June, and hope I shall then see you. I found advertised for sale in Philadelphia a water-proof cement from Richmond in Virginia. I can say nothing of its merits, for I had no opportunity of ascertaining its qualities. It is recommended to be a superior article by the agent. I have not yet commenced operations. My health continues to improve. I am not yet as strong as usual; the weather has been unfavorable for me. Remember me to your family.

Yours, respectfully,

A. A. BARTOW, Esq. CANVASS WHITE.

SCHENECTADY, May 13, 1823.

My Dear Friend:—I have just received a letter from Mr. White, wherein he says he has written three letters to you on the subject of the Water-Lime, and as I understand received no answer. He wishes me to see you and talk with you on the subject, and as I have understood you are about coming down to Albany, pray when can I see you and how can it be managed. I set out to-morrow to go up the river from this place, and shall be about three days in getting to the Falls, and I should like to see you if possible then, and have some conversation on the above subject.

I wish very much you was on the line now. Your presence between Schoharie creek and this place would be worth to the State ten dollars per day at this time, and tend to accelerate our getting in the water. Such an event would be pleasant, but how to bring it about is the question. When the engineers have no power to employ persons, it becomes difficult to say when the water shall come in. However, patience in this troublesome world is a great and excellent quality in human creatures, and I endeavor to practice as much of it as I can.

I should be glad to see you and enjoy a few hours' chat; and without intending to flatter you, I really think it would do me a great deal of good. If I can not see you, pray write me. Direct to Schenectady. With much affectionate regard,

I am, yours truly,

A. A. Bartow, Esq. B. WRIGHT.

Herkimer, May 19, 1823.

Dear Sir:—I have received your three communications of April 12th, 17th and 26th, and regret the ill success attending the introduction of our water-cement into common use. The reverses experienced in your attempts, appear to be owing to the want of your personal skill and attention, in the selection and calcination of the lime in grinding, and compounding it for use; and perhaps the greatest utility to the public and profit to us, the proprietors, would be secured by a division and allotment into counties and cities, enabling each to superintend his own immediate interest. I had long been of this opinion; but apprehending some collision almost unavoidable, from the exercise of separate divisions, I felt it my duty to offer to you the sale of my right, at a sum considerably less than I think I might realize from it, after a partition of territory, and I do not yet feel disposed to withdraw that offer and ask immediately for what you have often expressed a willingness, a partition of territory.

I beg leave to assure you that the patent can not be impeached by reason of any information communicated to me, or obtained by me from any person in relation to the discovery. My knowledge on the subject was not derived from others; but of my own seeking and experiment.

Considering the highest offer which Mr. Yates, as you say, is disposed to make for my interest, compared with offers made by others, to which I have not, and do not wish to listen; I think I could do better for all concerned by the sale of the interest of all, than he would do by me. As your engagements make it difficult for you to attend to this concern, would it be agreeable to you, that I should inquire what the proprietors of our western limestone would give for the exclusive privilege secured to us by the patent? I would venture on these inquiries with a delicate hand, and in answer to proposals occasionally made for my interest: but I do not wish to venture even this without the consent of all concerned.

When I shall have procured a proper analysis of the Bald mountain lime, I expect I shall be able to tell you that it is our's precisely, excepting only its coloring matter, which can not take its hydraulic use out of the patent.

If a division be thought best, we shall probably find it best to divide this and some of the neighboring States by counties, and the Atlantic cities by cities, the western and more remote States by large districts. In this way each may attend to his own interest, or procure a special agent to do it for him. And in this way I think no reasonable doubt can he entertained of our success and profits.

In the course of the summer, I propose a variety of new experiments in regard to the best modes of selecting, calcining, grinding and compounding this cement, so as to be able to reduce all these, not only to rules such as those

acquainted with kindred arts *can*, but so plain that even those unacquainted with the use of cements can not mistake the best process.

I would be glad to hear what you can say on the practical use of the newly proposed southern cement. Can you send me its analysis?

As the Canal Commissioners decline paying anything to the patentees of the cement, I suggest the propriety of calling all persons in the State to account for their infringements of the patent. I think this would bring the Commissioners to terms, unless they are willing to see their contractors suffer. The State not liable to suit stands upon its exemption; let the patentees recline on their right secured by the Laws of the Union. In a compromise so far as my interest goes, I am willing to be liberal; but if by the refusal of the Commissioners to do us justice, we are driven to prosecute, I ask the utmost farthing which can be recovered. If the Commissioners tell us they can do nothing till we have maintained our exclusive right by various expensive litigated suits; our answer must be that these suits securing us verdicts we will collect them without permitting the Commissioners to interfere. A compromise is offered to save the expenses of suits; but suit once brought, let those interested in the patent seek and recover damages, and let the Commissioners indemnify those who may suffer.

Such, my dear sir, are my views on the subject. I shall expect an answer from you as soon as may be, respecting a sale of my interest, a division, a sale of the interest of all, and the suits to be brought for infringements, and such information as you can give respecting the newly proposed southern cement. I shall communicate what I can learn respecting that of Bald mountain.

CANVASS WHITE. A. A BARTOW.

LEBANON, Lebanon County, June 9, 1823.

A. A. Bartow, Esq.:

Dear Sir:—Yours of the 19th May, mailed the 22d, has been received. I should have answered it sooner, but I expected to have seen Judge Wright. He has returned without making me a visit. I have had the contents of your letter under consideration. I expect to be in Troy about the 20th of this month, and have, therefore, concluded to defer giving an answer to your proposition of a division of territory until that time, and must solicit you to meet me and Judge Wright, and make a final settlement on such terms as we may agree on. I will write you again and state the precise time—perhaps it may be a little later—for I feel anxious to get a considerable part of the line under contract before I leave it; and, further, I should like to make it convenient for Mr. Wright and yourself. If you should have any engagements that would make it inconvenient to meet me at that time, or between that and the first of July, you will have the goodness to inform me. I have a sample of the Virginia cement, and have some on trial. It is a compound; the constituent parts I do not know. I will furnish you with a sample. I have a specimen of stone found on Maiden creek, which empties into the Schuylkill above Reading, and is said to make a good cement. I have seen none of it tried, but shall make the experiment soon. It has the appearance of the Bald mountain stone. If it should prove good, our patent would be

contested. I shall be able to understand it before I see you. The people are very anxious to find it in this State, and will go as great lengths as Colonel Y. with a substitute. My respects to your family.

Yours, respectfully,

CANVASS WHITE.

HERKIMER, June 28, 1823.

Dear Sir:—Yours of the 9th and the 21st inst. have come to hand. They contain an invitation to meet yourself and Judge Wright at Troy on the third of July. I should be happy to meet friends and old laborers on the canal, and to hear your several remarks and observations on the contemplated improvements of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware and Maryland; but the situation of my business and family make it very difficult, say impracticable, and nothing ought to tempt me away at present but urgent business. If, therefore, to the agreeable call of friendship, you had added some definite proposal for a distribution of our common interest in the cement, I should have repaired to Troy, feeling extremely anxious to have my fourth in severalty, that I may make it productive to myself and family. Yet even then I might not have been able to attend at the time you fix, as well from private circumstances as that I do not know where to find the Judge.

Since, then, I can not attend, I may renew the expression of my wish for a distribution of our interests in the hydraulic cement. The basis of the division should be perfectly equitable, territory, population and probable profit duly considered. In procuring the cement or material for it, the right should be common to all in interest in the several places where it is or may be found. In vending and using it, the right should be exclusive in the places distributed to each. It would seem that each should have some of the Atlantic cities, some of the counties in this and the middle and lake States, and in the other States the distribution may be fairly made by larger districts; and I am of opinion that it will be well for us to refer the distribution upon such a basis to some proper person with power to define our respective territories, and to settle our shares in all sales made, and in all infringements practiced and to be practiced hereafter. Among the persons fit to make this distribution and to draw the necessary conveyances, I name Thomas J. Oakley. If you concur in this nomination, or will make one in which I can concur, we will then agree on the things to be submitted and the matters to be determined, so as to effect in the most friendly and equitable manner a distribution.

I will add that considerable has been lately said as to newly-discovered cements. After all reasonable inquiry and due consideration, I am disposed to believe the present one perfectly secure from competition, and therefore, of handsome value; and surely at present I should find no difficulty in making my share very productive if separated from the interests of the concern. Indeed, I have been tempted to bring the cement into use by offering it in market supported by the skill of good workmen, but have declined this, the proper method, lest it might not be agreeable to the wishes of yourself.

Soliciting your speedy answer and a full statement of your views on this subject, I am, dear sir,

Your humble servant,

C. WHITE, Esq. A. A. BARTOW.

NEW YORK, July 12th, 1823.

Dear Sir :—I regret very much that I did not see you while at Troy, so that we could have made some arrangements as to future operations. There is a good deal of interest excited in regard to the results of the suit against Brown, and I think he will appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States, because, as it now stands all those persons that have manufactured the cement are liable to prosecution, and the same amount in proportion could be recovered against them ; so that instead of an amicable suit it will probably terminate in an hostile appeal. If it should take this course a considerable expense will necessarily occur in defending our just claims. And from what has been said, by the Commissioners we need not expect a single farthing until it has been decided by the Supreme Court ; as I have already expended a good deal of money in trying to introduce it into general use, and now feel the effects of considerable losses. I have taken this responsibility on myself out of pure friendship towards you, knowing that you had not funds on hand to advance for the manufacturing of the cement, and wait the returns of protracted and uncertain sales. A strong prejudice has arisen against the cement which has been manufactured for some time, it therefore can not be sold except fresh from the manufactory. I have therefore been under the necessity of disposing to Mr. Seymour 600 casks, to be used on the canal; as this must be sent back from this place there will be considerable loss. About 200 more casks will remain of last year's stock. Great exertions are made to introduce it. I hope to hear from you soon at Reading, Pennsylvania.

Yours, respectfully,

CANVASS WHITE.

NEW YORK, September 15, 1823.

Dear Friend :—Since I wrote you last I have obtained Mr. Emmot's opinion respecting the validity of the patent for the water-proof cement. He considers the patent as good as any ever granted. I have written to a friend of Captain Brown, to advise him to appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States. That decision will be law; and if it should be favorable, we shall stand a chance to be remunerated by collecting a percentage on all that has been manufactured. I am still of an opinion that it will be difficult for us to sustain the patent against the infringement of other States. I expected to have heard from you before this time and had your opinion as to the best mode to pursue; but as the time is drawing near that something should be done, I have concluded that it would be better to run the risk of an appeal than to be kept in suspense, and probably never receive any benefit from the discovery. I return to Pennsylvania to-morrow morning, and shall be happy to hear from you at Reading. My respects to your family.

Yours, respectfully,

A. A. BARTOW, Esq. CANVASS WHITE.

READING, October 21, 1823.

Dear Friend :—You may think me a troublesome correspondent because I have written several letters without receiving an answer. The reason of my letters being neglected I do not know, but I hope it is not on account of a falling off of friendship. If that is the case on your part, I assure you it is not so on mine. I feel the same interest for your welfare that I ever did. As to the cement business, it remains the same as when I wrote you last, except the prospect of getting a remuneration from the State, which I think is more favorable. I mentioned to you before that I wished Captain Brown to appeal, and have advised him accordingly. I have taken this responsibility on myself, not hearing anything from you. I hope it will meet with your approbation. One reason I had for so doing was, that I was fearful that a hostile appeal would be made, which would place us on different ground from what we now occupy, and I think it would have been more unfavorable. I think much of Mr. Emmot's opinion, which was decidedly in our favor; and if we should be successful on the appeal, we then have it in our power to enforce our claims to the fullest extent. All things considered, I think you will approve of the course I have taken. My greatest anxiety is to get a decision the ensuing winter. I think it advisable to employ Mr. Emmot to argue the case at Washington, as that will be attended with the least expense. I have said nothing to him on that point, but as he will attend the Supreme Court on other business, he can easily attend to ours. I had thought some of Mr. Colden, as he will be there on other business also. I should like to have your opinion on this subject, and hope you will do me the favor to write as soon as you have leisure. The sales of cement have been tolerably good this season, but without profit. I reduced the price last spring, in anticipation of a reduction in the transportation by the opening of the canal to Schenectady, but in that I have been disappointed. There was a considerable quantity on hand, which had been kept through the winter, and it was not considered very good by the purchasers in New York. I, therefore, concluded it would be best to dispose of some to the Canal Commissioners, knowing it to be better than that generally used on the canal. I think there will be a loss on the lot sold them of about one thousand dollars. I was sorry that I did not have the pleasure of seeing you at the grand celebration at Albany. I shall, I hope, have the pleasure of seeing you next winter, for I shall return to Albany with my family. They will remain in the State of New York in future. It is getting too sickly in this part of the country for them to remain another summer. The same sickness which has prevailed on the Schuylkill, has lately made its appearance on the Talpehocken, and more than three-fourths of the inhabitants are now and have been sick. The young men that came with me are all well. The workmen on the canal have not been much affected yet, but I am fearful the sickness will be troublesome another season. I gave Judge Wright a specimen of the cement found in the neighborhood of this place. No more experiments have been made with that particular kind, but some on a larger scale have been made with a quantity which appeared to be the same. The result I do not know. Please give my respects to your family.

Your affectionate friend,

A. A. BARTOW, Esq. CANVASS WHITE.

These letters constitute all that remain in the family of Mr. Bartow, relating to this subject.* There were many more letters, and a mass of papers between Bartow and White, in relation to the cement, but which, within a few years, have been destroyed, as his daughters inform me, because they had no place to keep them. But I think the letters I have read, fairly sustain the claim I make for Mr. Bartow, as the original discoverer of water-proof cement, in this country. It is true, however, that the patent was granted to Canvass White as the discoverer; and so far as this fact goes, it is at most only *prima facie* evidence that he was entitled to the honor of the discovery; and what I claim is, that his letters which I have read fairly overthrow the presumption in his favor, founded upon the patent.

It will be observed that in none of his letters to Bartow, does White use language showing that the discovery was his own. On the contrary; in his letter of April 16, 1823, he talks discouragingly of the value of the patent, and to get off easily with Bartow, who had made him a proposition to sell out his fourth interest to him, he intimates that there is not much value in the patent, because Samuel Horn (who was one of the masons to whom Bartow showed the stone, as I have stated) had started the story that he (Bartow) was not entitled to the credit he claimed, but that all the knowledge he possessed in reference to the cement, he got from Samuel Horn and his brother.

At this time, confessedly, as all the letters show, Bartow had a fourth interest in the patent, and White was the patentee. It seems to me it is impossible to conceive why Mr. White should have used the language he did in this letter, if, as between the two, it was not understood that Bartow was the discoverer. It certainly was of no consequence what Horn said of Bartow, if White was the discoverer, and the value of the patent could not, in such case, be affected by what Horn said of Bartow. I think that it is apparent, from these letters, that *White* took the burden of the patent on his shoulders, under some such arrangement as the daughters of Mr. Bartow say. Such, I think, is the fair inference from all the letters.

Another significant fact appears, which is, that in all these letters which concede to Mr. Bartow a quarter interest in the patent, and mention what he is doing, expending and losing in his efforts to introduce the cement into use, he nowhere calls on

* These letters are all in the possession of the Oneida Historical Society.

him to contribute to the expense or loss, and nowhere intimates his liability to do so. And from this circumstance I infer what his daughters assure me is a fact, that White, under the arrangement with their father, was to take the patent in his name and assume all the risk, trouble and expense of introducing the article into use, and give him one-fourth of all the net profits, and retain the other three-fourths for his compensation and the risk of the outlay on his part.

I have given only some of the inferences which may be drawn from these letters, in support of the claims I make. I think no more are needed to show that Mr. Bartow is fairly entitled to the credit I claim for him.

I should say here, as giving some plausibility at least to what I have said, that Mr. Bartow was a communicative man. He was full of practical and scientific knowledge. His skill on the subject of Water-Lime was vouched for by Hon. Henry Seymour, as early as 1821, as will be seen by his testimonial of him which I have read. And knowing him as I did, if I were to make any guess on the subject, I should say that after making the discovery he freely talked about it, without the thought of any personal benefit to himself, through a patent; and I am inclined to think also that the idea of a patent came from White, and that at his suggestion application was made for the patent, and for reasons satisfactory to Bartow taken in his name. And I have no doubt that as between them, it was thought that the patent could be made the most available in the name of White. At that time he was widely known as a prominent and skillful hydraulic engineer; and at the time these letters were written, he was the chief engineer on the Schuylkill canal in Pennsylvania. He certainly would be supposed from his position and well known character as an engineer, to be just the person to bring into public notice the cement, and make market for it. He failed and his failure was a great disappointment to Bartow.

Here I will state that soon after the Erie canal was completed and in 1825, the Delaware and Hudson canal was commenced. Mr. Bartow in conjunction with Harvey Hackley, who was a brother of the late Hon. Aaron Hackley of the city of Utica, and who also resided in Herkimer, took a contract on that canal on the summit level in Sullivan county. He was at work on his contract at the time Maurice Wurts wrote him the letter, which I have read of December 9, 1825, addressed to him at Warwassing, care of Mr. Lamoree. To the call made in this letter Bartow at once

responded, and using a blacksmith shop as he had done in Onondaga county to burn the stone, and the anvil to pulverize it he made the necessary experiments to demonstrate the fact, that the stone shown him by Mr. Wurts made a very superior article of hydraulic cement.

From that time the projectors of that canal used this stone for cement, which previous to that time they had to transport at great expense from Chittenango. I do not claim for Bartow that he discovered the stone in Ulster county, which proved to be cement; but I claim to him belongs the honor of demonstrating the fact that it was cement. This stone in Ulster county was found on the line of the Delaware and Hudson canal, late in the year 1825, as would seem from the letter of Mr. Wurts. It was found in the towns of Marbletown and Rosendale.

After Mr. Bartow's tests were made, and upon his judgment the manufacture of cement was at once begun there, and it took the name of Rosendale cement, by which name it is still known. And this was the beginning of the immense manufacture of the celebrated Rosendale cement, which has since been carried on in that county, aggregating, in many years, $4,000,000 a year. The manufacture of Water-Lime has become and is an important industry in this State, and its beginning can be traced to the discovery made by Mr. Bartow.

Having said what I have in respect to Mr. Bartow and the claim which I make for him, it will not be out of place here to give some further account of him. He was the son of an Episcopal clergyman, born at New Rochelle in this State, and was of French Huguenot descent. He received a good education, and he was a good thinker and a good talker. After his marriage he settled near New Rochelle, and engaged in the milling business. His wife was a Miss Hunt, of Hunt's Point, which at the time of her marriage, and for nearly a century before belonged to the Hunt family. She was the aunt of the Hon. James B. Hunt, who was a prominent lawyer in Herkimer county, some fifty years ago, and she was the first cousin of the father of Judge Hunt of this city.

In the year 1806, Mr. Bartow sold out his interest in Westchester county and removed with his family to Fairfield, in Herkimer county. He settled upon a farm which either then or soon after included the hill near the village of Fairfield which took his name, and has ever since been called "Bartow Hill." He no sooner had taken up his residence in Fairfield than he took an active interest in the academy there, and he became one of its warmest and most active friends. He was the chief promoter and one of the corpo-

rators of the Medical College at Fairfield. In his efforts to secure the college at that place, and to promote the interests of the academy there he was brought in connection with the Board of Regents at Albany, and often appeared before them. He was much respected by the members of the Board, and he enjoyed also the confidence and friendship of Governor DeWitt Clinton, with whom he was intimately acquainted before he came to Herkimer county. He resided at Fairfield until 1820, when he removed to the village of Herkimer, where he continued to reside until 1837, when he removed to Little Falls, where he resided until 1850, when he removed with his family to West Farms, in Westchester county, at which place he died in 1862, at 88 years of age. He was called Dr. Bartow and he was usually addressed as such; and this was in consequence of a joke perpetrated upon him by Governor Clinton. He had an occasion to appear before the Board of Regents at Albany, at which Governor Clinton was presiding. Some question was under discussion by the Board as to which there was some difference of opinion, and a member of the Board seeing Mr. Bartow present, and not doubting that he was a real doctor from the fact that he had often appeared there as the representative of the Medical College at Fairfield, said to the Regents, "suppose we hear from Dr. Bartow on the subject:" Mr. Bartow responded to the call made upon him, and commenced by saying "he was not a doctor, and was not entitled to so honorable a title, and that he supposed it was intended simply as a complimentary expression or as a joke." Governor Clinton promptly interrupted Mr. Bartow by saying, "Go on, Doctor, the Board of Regents never joke." This turn upon Mr. Bartow brought the laugh upon him, and the story of what Governor Clinton had said passed all along the line of the canal where he was known, and the joke was repeated on him, and from that time he was called Dr. Bartow. His letters after that usually came addressed to him as such, and it will be remembered he was so addressed by Maurice Wurts in his letter of December 9, 1825.

Dr. Bartow as I shall now call him was a staunch supporter of Governor Clinton, and a warm friend of our canal system. He believed in the canals, and was always ready to defend them against the attacks of skeptics and politicians. He never could believe with his fellow townsman, the Hon. Michael Hoffman, that the canals ought to be, or would be superceded by the railroads, and he often had disputes with Mr. Hoffman about the canals. Mr. Hoffman's wife was a cousin of Mr. Bartow and their families were intimate,

but the two seldom met without discussing the canal subject, and always differing.

Dr. Bartow was a good man, and was always genial and talkative, and as Governor Clinton once said of him he was by no means parsimonious in communicating. He was a true patriot and he loved the institutions of his country. In politics he was a Clintonian and a whig. He always took a great interest in current politics, and was well posted. He foresaw the storm arising between the north and south, and when hostilities commenced he was much distressed. He insisted to the last that the daily papers should be read to him, giving him the latest news about the conflict. To him the horrors and the trials of the war were a constant grief, and he was full of anxiety as to the result of the contest.

The brave and gallant Col. Francis S. Bartow, who was killed on the confederate side on the bloody plain at Manassas, was a nephew of his. He had other friends and relations on the confederate side, but his anxiety was not for them, but for the preservation of the Union.

He died in the second year of the war and was buried in the old family burying ground at Hunt's Point.

THE SYRACUSE AND UTICA RAILROAD.

BY HON. D. E. WAGER.

READ BEFORE THE SOCIETY, JULY 13, 1880.

The contemplated movement for the construction via Utica, of the New York, West Side and Buffalo railroad, with a view of adding another link in the chain of railroad connections between the Atlantic and the great west, can hardly fail to recall the events of forty and fifty years ago, relative to the efforts then made to construct the first railroads through central New York; and it may also serve as a reminder to old residents of Oneida, Madison, and Onondaga counties of the struggle and sharp contest which took place, regarding the location through Oneida county of the Syracuse and Utica railroad.

Prior to 1826, there was not a railroad in America. In that year a railroad four miles in length, called the "Quincy railroad," was built in Massachusetts, used to transport granite from the quarries. The motive power was horses; the use of steam was an after-thought, and not dreamed of when railroads were first projected.

In April of the year that the Quincy railroad was built the Legislature of New York chartered the "Mohawk and Hudson River Railroad Company" to construct a railroad between Albany and Schenectady. This was the first chartered railroad company in the Union authorized to carry on a general transportation business of freight and passengers. It was the year the Erie canal was brought fully into use, and the public had seen and felt the beneficial results arising from internal improvements of this kind. The capital of the company was $300,000, with liberty to increase it to $500,000. If the road was not completed in six years, the charter was forfeited; no restriction was imposed as to the charges to be made for carrying passengers; nor was the company prohibited from carrying freight, nor required to pay tolls thereon, nor restricted as to the charges to be made for carrying freight, except that such charges were not to exceed the amount of the

tolls and duties, (together with the charges for carrying freight,) which property was then subjected, as the cost of transportation on the Erie canal. The State reserved the right to become the owner of the road at any time within five years after its completion, by providing for the repayment to the railroad company the cost of construction and interest thereon, first deducting the tolls the company had received for carrying passengers and freight.

In the meantime, and before work on this road was begun, railroads in other States were commenced, completed and brought into use, and locomotives propelled by steam placed thereon. In August, 1830, and about twenty months before the six years were up within which the road was to be built, the work of construction was commenced, and it was pushed forward with so much vigor and energy that in October, 1831, it was fully completed and carrying about 400 passengers daily on an average. This was the first railroad built in this State; it was, of course, crude in its plan, imperfect in its construction, and expensive both in its construction and operation. The road-bed was mostly of solid stone, and with such a firm and unyielding foundation, it acted the purpose of an anvil and the rolling stock as hammers, to batter up and wear out in a short time the timbers, cross ties and rails of the track. Its cost was $68,000 per mile, and the inclined plane and stationary engine thereat near Schenectady, (so well remembered by older travelers,) and which skill and railroad experience had not then learned to dispense with or obviate, were an additional expense of $1,000 per month.

But imperfect and expensive as the construction and operation of that railroad were, they had their advantages, for they served as lessons in the construction of subsequent roads; and besides, that mode of carrying passengers and freight was such a vast improvement on all former or other modes of transportation, it very naturally stimulated similar enterprises, and served to whet the appetite of the public for the chartering and construction of more railroads.

Schenectady and Utica.

Each year, for the then next ten years subsequent to the incorporation of that railroad company, the Legislatures of New York granted many charters for the construction of railroads in various parts of the State; but nothing however was done under any of them (except the one granted in 1831, and the road finished in

1833 to construct the road between Schenectady and Saratoga,) until after the charter in 1833, to construct a railroad between Schenectady and Utica; the last named road to run from Schenectady on the north side of Mohawk river to the village of Herkimer, thence to Utica, at a point to be designated by the common council of the last named place; the point so designated was east of and at the foot of Genesee street. The capital stock of the company was $2,000,000, and the work on the road was to be commenced and $100,000 expended within two years, and the road to be completed within ten years after the passage of the act, or the company to forfeit its charter. Property was not allowed to be transported over the road, except the ordinary baggage of passengers, and the company was limited to four cents per mile for transporting passengers; and before commencing to carry persons, the company was required to pay, or tender to the Mohawk Turnpike Company $22.50 on each share of the stock of said Turnpike Company. That turnpike was chartered in 1800 to construct a dirt road between Schenectady and Utica. The State reserved the right to become the owner of the railroad within ten years after its completion, the same as provided in the act incorporating the Mohawk and Hudson River Railroad Company.

The work on this new link of railroads was begun in the fall of 1834, and was fully completed at a cost of $20,000 per mile in the summer of 1836, so that it was in running order and regular trips commenced August 2, of that year. The opening of the road was duly celebrated, and the newspapers all through the State announced the completion of that additional link with a grand flourish, and boasted in a magnificent strain that the company had six locomotives, fifty cars, and fifty emigrant wagons, and that "each car would carry twenty-four passengers!!" The next year, after the Utica and Schenectady Railroad Company was chartered, the Auburn and Syracuse Railroad Company was organized, and the construction of the road between those two places was at once put under way, rapidly pushed forward, and completed in the summer of 1837, that it might be the means of attracting by that route other connecting links in the great railroad thoroughfare, which then seemed must be inevitably and soon constructed through the entire State.

The fact that there were to be railroad connections between Albany and Utica, and between Auburn and Syracuse, very naturally stirred up the people along the line, through central New York, to fill up the gaps and supply the needed links that should make a completed railroad chain from the waters of the Hudson

to those of lake Erie. These considerations, and the fact that railroads were not only paying investments, but were of incalculable benefit in developing the resources of the country, made it pretty apparent in the year 1835 that the Legislature to assemble in January, 1836, would be besieged for charters for railroad companies; and in many localities at the fall election in 1835, members of the Legislature were selected in reference to their power, influence and usefulness in procuring charters for such purposes.

In the fall of 1835, David Wager, of Utica, was chosen State Senator from this county. To the Assembly were chosen on a general county ticket, John Stryker, of Rome; Henry Graves, of Boonville; John W. Hale, of Clinton; William Knight, of Paris, and Jared C. Pettibone, of Lee. It will be assumed that these men are sufficiently well known in Oneida county, even by younger residents and new comers, as to need no introduction or further mention. In the Assembly from Madison county were William J. Hough, of Cazenovia; John B. Yates, of Chittenango, and Ephraim Gray, of Lebanon. Mr. Hough was a leading lawyer and prominent citizen of that county, and a few years later was elected to Congress. Mr. Yates was a wealthy and influential citizen, highly respected, and so closely connected with other public enterprises as to make him a power in the State. He had been in Congress in 1814 from Schenectady, and about 1816 was practicing law in Utica, and about 1818 he made Chittenango his home, was in 1835 First Judge of Madison county, and by his liberal endowment of, and munificent donations to "Yates Polytechnic School" of his village, made himself popular and influential. He was brother of Joseph C. Yates, Judge of the Supreme Court of the State in 1814, and Governor in 1823. He will also be remembered as one of the managers of the lotteries in this State sixty years ago. Mr. Gray was an early and an old resident of his county and a farmer of influence. With persons of such position and influence Madison county was ably represented and her interests well protected. Their geographical location would naturally lead them to favor the route of a railroad that would run as far south as the hills of Madison county would permit. In the Assembly from Onondaga county were John Wilkinson, of Syracuse; David Munro, of the town of Camillus; Sanford C. Parker, of Marcellus, and Daniel Dennison, of Manlius. Mr. Wilkinson was a lawyer of tact, and of busy, bustling habits; he was short in stature and small in size, but he made up for these in enterprise and in physical and mental activity. He was the first postmaster of Syracuse, and it was he

who in 1820 gave that place its present name, it having been theretofore known successively as "Bogardus Corners," "Milan," "South Salina," "Cossit's Corners," "Corinth," and lastly Syracuse. Mr. Wilkinson was elected to the Assembly in 1834 and reëlected in 1835. He was among the foremost and strongest advocates of the route on which the road was subsequently located. Mr. Munro was a farmer of large wealth and of considerable influence, and stood shoulder to shoulder with Mr. Wilkinson in the advocacy of the present route; but he did not stand shoulder to shoulder with Mr. Wilkinson in stature nor size, for Mr. Munro was tall in height, and was large in size as well as in wealth, for he weighed between three and four hundred pounds. Mr. Parker was a person of prominence and engaged in the milling business; for some reason or other, he cast his influence in favor of the more southern route. Mr. Dennison favored the present route. He was Member of the Assembly not only in 1836, but again in 1837.

When the Legislature convened in January, 1836, it was besieged with petitions and applications for the granting of charters to construct railroads in almost every part of the State. At that session some fifty-eight railroad charters were granted or old ones renewed, and among the list was one granted to build a railroad from Johnstown to Fonda, one to build a railroad from Herkimer village to Trenton, one to build a railroad from Carthage, Jefferson county, to the river St. Lawrence, one to build from Utica to Oswego, one from Attica to Buffalo, one from Auburn to Rochester, and one from Utica to Syracuse. It is with this last-named road that this article has mainly to do.

At the commencement of the session the friends of the last-named road and of the two routes were on hand in force, and at once began the maneuvering, marching and counter-marching of the two hostile forces. One party insisted that the road should be constructed wholly on the south side of the Erie canal, starting at a point in Utica near the present site of the City Hall, thence through New Hartford, Westmoreland, Vernon and as near Oneida Castle and the Madison county hills as the grades would permit. This was the shorter distance, and brought the road nearer the southern and more cultivated portions of Madison county and the little hamlets or country villages of Cazenovia, Chittenango, "Quality Hill," &c., and hence was strongly favored and strenuously urged by the Assemblymen from that section and by about the whole of Madison county. Most of the Utica influence favored that route, too, for that would insure a break in the railroad chain

in Utica, and make that locality what the site of Rome had been near a hundred years before, a "carrying-place." It was argued by Uticans that if there was no break and there should be a continuous chain of railroads, Utica in due time would become but little better than a way station upon the great thoroughfare, and its growth and business facilities greatly crippled and dwarfed. The other party favored a route that would take the projected railroad along or near the sixty-mile level of the Erie canal, and it was urged that although the distance by this route might be a few miles further, yet it was more than compensated by the more favorable grades, and by the cheapness of construction and the small amount that would have to be paid for land damages. The Romans and the northern portion of Oneida county, of course, favored this route, as did the greater part of Onondaga county, as well as capitalists in other parts of the State, who wished to invest their money in roads that could be constructed and kept in repair the cheapest, and, as a consequence, yield the quickest and largest dividends. A road built strictly on the Erie canal level would make the road eight miles longer than it now is, and might take it westward from Rome via Higginsville, Durhamville, and into Onondaga county through the "Cicero swamp," much farther to the north through Madison county than it now runs; and although the friends of this route promised or conceded to the Madison county people that the road, after it reached Rome going west, should be constructed on or near its present location, yet the friends of the southern route were suspicious and unwilling to yield, except by compulsion.

It must not be forgotten that at that time that, with the exception of about fifteen miles, the whole route between Utica and Syracuse, now traversed by this road, was a swamp, and much of the way a wild and unbroken forest. The site of the present flourishing village of Oneida was a wilderness. There was a saw-mill but then recently built, a log house for the sawyer, and one erected by Mr. Sands Higginbotham, who had previously purchased a large tract of wild land in that locality. The village of Canastota was but a hamlet, brought into existence and notice by the construction of the canal.

In the early history of railroad charters in this State, the Legislature named the commissioners whose duty it was to open the books for subscriptions to stock, and when the stock was subscribed, to distribute it among the subscribers. The owners of the stock elected the directors of the railroad company, and the

latter located the road, unless the location was designated in the charter itself. It was, of course, important that the right railroad commissioners should be named, as upon them might depend the destiny of the road. It seemed to be conceded that there were to be twenty-five railroad commissioners, of which Oneida county was to have seven, Madison county four, Onondaga county seven, and the other seven to be selected from the State at large; and it also seemed to be understood and agreed that the Senator and Assemblymen were to name the commissioners from their county, and each was to name one. Mr. Stryker, from this county, was the principal champion and wire-puller for the Rome route, and Pomroy Jones, of Westmoreland, for the southern location. From this county, David Wager, as Senator, named as his choice for commissioner Julius A. Spencer, of Utica, then a director of and for a long time connected with the Utica and Schenectady railroad. Mr. Stryker named Henry A. Foster; Mr. Graves named David Moulton, of Floyd; Mr. Pettibone named Timothy Jenkins, of Oneida Castle, (Mr. Pettibone had a brother living in Vernon, and hence was half inclined to favor that route;) Mr. Hale named Pomroy Jones; Mr. Knight named Israel S. Parker; the seventh commissioner from this county was Riley Shepard, of Augusta. Five of the above commissioners were positively in favor of the Rome route, and although Mr. Jenkins lived at Oneida Castle and along the southern location, yet he was not hostile to, and in case of a pinch would not act against the Rome location. The commissioners from Madison county were John Knowles, of Chittenango; Ichabod S. Spencer, of Canastota; John Williams, of Cazenovia, and Benjamin Enos, of DeRuyter. From Onondaga county were Vivus W. Smith, Miles W. Bennett, Horace Wheaton, Thomas J. Gilbert, E. L. Phillips, Aaron Burt and James Beardslee—most, if not all, of them friendly to the canal location. The commissioners in the State at large (named by a select committee of the Legislature, to which the charter was referred for amendments and perfection) were Henry Seymour, of Utica, father of Governor Seymour, (Mr. Seymour was among the first Canal Commissioners of the State, one of its warmest and active friends, and formerly State Senator; he warmly favored the Rome route, and having been so long a friend of the canal, his influence was great;) James Hooker, of Poughkeepsie; Hollom Hutchinson, of Livingston county; James M. Allen, Frederick Whittlesey, of Rochester; Rufus H. King, of Albany, and Charles Oakley, of New York city. The Rome route had a decided ma-

jority of the railroad commissioners as thus constituted, and hence the friends of the southern route were obliged to resort to other tactics to carry their measure. John B. Yates was chairman of the railroad committee in the Assembly, and hence in that respect the southern route had an important advantage. That committee reported the fore part of the session a bill chartering the company, but required the road to be constructed wholly on the south side of the Erie canal! This was a death blow to the Rome route, but the friends of the canal line succeeded in having the bill referred to a select committee consisting of Charles A. Floyd, of Suffolk county; C. T. Chamberlain, of Allegany, and G. W. Patterson, of Livingston, to amend and report the bill complete. This move was ominous, and petitions and remonstrances poured into the Legislature from Madison county and portions of the southern part of Oneida county against locating any part of the road on the north side of the canal. On the third of May, 1836, that select committee reported the bill as amended, authorizing the directors of the company to locate the road. This was, of course, just what the Rome friends desired, and was perhaps more than they could reasonably expect, considering the strong influence and persistent effort in favor of the southern location. The bill, as thus reported, was vigorously assailed by Mr. Yates and others. Mr. Yates moved to refer the bill back with instructions to the select committee to report the bill as it had been first reported by the railroad committee, (locating the road on the south side of the canal.) Mr. Wilkinson opposed this motion, claiming that it was impracticable if not impossible to so locate the road, especially in portions of Onondaga county. Mr. Stryker urged that the Rome or canal route was almost a dead level the entire length of the road, and although the distance was a few miles greater, yet the grades were enough better to compensate for the difference in length. The motion of Mr. Yates was defeated. Mr. Parker, of Onondaga, to get rid of the commissioners named in the bill, moved that the Governor appoint them. This was voted down. Orville Robinson, of Oswego, struck the popular feeling in the Assembly when he moved that the majority of the directors should locate the road "on the most direct and eligible route." This was carried, and the contest was ended in the Assembly, and the Rome route practically adopted, for althought it might not be the most "direct," yet it was the most "eligible," and it was supposed that the directors to be selected would so determine. On the 11th of May, 1836, the bill was made a law and the above persons named as rail-

road commissioners. The capital stock of the company was $800,000, and if the road was not commenced in two years, and at least $25,000 expended, and was not finished in four years after the passage of the act, the charter was forfeited. The railroad commissioners organized by the election of Henry A. Foster as president of the board, and I. S. Spencer, of Canastota, (brother of the late Joshua A. Spencer,) as secretary. The president named as committee from this county to prepare and report a plan for receiving subscriptions and distributing stock, David Moulton, Israel S. Parker and Pomroy Jones. Books of subscription were opened July 19, 20 and 21, 1836, at the Syracuse House, in Syracuse; at J. C. Spencer's coffee house, in Canastota; at T. H. Pratt's canal coffee house, in Utica; at the Mansion House, in Albany, and at the Farmer's Loan and Trust Company's office, in New York city. Although the capital stock of the company was but $800,000, yet nearly two and a half millions of dollars were subscribed outside of the city of New York, viz: In Syracuse, $643,000; Canastota, $447,000; Utica, $1,066,000; Albany, $250,000. It was then a delicate task to distribute the stock and give no real ground of complaint; but it was done.

September 22, 1836, the first election of directors of the railroad company was held at the Syracuse House in Syracuse, at which the following were elected directors, viz.: Henry Seymour, David Wager, Henry A. Foster, David Moulton, Samuel French, John Wilkinson, Oliver Teall, James Beardslee, James Hooker, Isaiah Townsend, Miles W. Bennett and Charles Stebbins. Henry Seymour was elected president of the road; H. A. Foster, vice president; Vivus W. Smith, secretary; M. S. Marsh, treasurer, and Aaron Burt, superintendent. John Stryker was selected as attorney for Oneida county to perfect the land titles, John Wilkinson attorney for Onondaga county, and S. T. Fairchild for Madison county. Oliver H. Lee, formerly engineer on the Utica and Schenectady road, was made Chief engineer, with J. P. Munro and C. B. Stuart (the latter of Vernon, and in 1847, State engineer,) as assistants. Surveys of different routes were at once commenced. At the election held in July, 1837, the same officers were re-elected, but as President VanBuren had called an extra session of Congress to convene in September of that year, which necessitated Mr. Foster's absence, (Mr. Foster had been elected to Congress in 1836,) he resigned the vice presidency and directorship, and John Wilkinson was made vice president, and John Stryker director in the places thus vacated. In August, 1837, Mr. Sey-

mour died, and Mr. Wilkinson was made president of the road, which position he held for sixteen years, and until the consolidation of the several links into the New York Central and Hudson River Railroad company in 1853.

Construction of the Road.

In December, 1837, the company advertised for proposals to furnish 7,000,000 feet of timber, board measure, of white and yellow pine, cedar and hemlock for rail, sills and ties; and, March, 1838, proposals were invited to grade 33 miles of the track in sections of one mile each, and to be completed January 1, 1839. The whole contract for grading was made May 1, 1838, and in September of that year, proposals were invited for 255,000 feet of white oak for "ribbon pieces," and to be one and one-half by three inches in size, ten to fifteen feet in length, and to be free from wane, sap and knots, and to be delivered along the line of the road as soon as the canal opened in 1839; also for 50,000 cast iron knees. Within fourteen months after the road was put under contract, it was fully completed—most of the way upon piles, a system then for the first time brought into practical use. The pile system was mainly the invention of E. P. Williams of Utica, who was formerly engaged in the construction of the first railroad in this State, and who subsequently went south and perfected his system. The piles were first thoroughly soaked in salt to add to their preservative qualities, and provision made for resalting as it became necessary; they were driven, by steam power, to a depth of twenty-five or thirty feet in the marshy ground, by splicing. On the top of the piles were placed long timbers of pine, on which rested the "ribbon pieces" of oak, and on these ribbon pieces, were spiked the flat iron rail. The long timbers of the track were kept from spreading by cross ties. Not infrequently the spikes and the flat rail worked loose, and in such cases the latter paid an unwelcome visit to the inside of the coach, by protruding through the floor, to the imminent peril of the lives of the passengers. A passenger coach in those days seated twenty-four persons, they facing each other, after the style of an omnibus or street car, with no stove inside, or other means to warm the travelers in the winter, than those vehicles have, or as provided in meeting houses in olden times.

The road was fully completed the last of June, 1839. Its cost was $700,000—$100,000 less than its capital stock. On Thursday, June 27, the first train of cars reached Rome from Utica, and the

editor of the Rome *Democratic Sentinel* boasted in its issue of July 2, 1839, that on the Thursday previous he had shaken hands in the streets of Rome with persons who had left Utica forty-five minutes before. The arrival of that train in Rome was the occasion of great excitement and of unusual rejoicing; it was welcomed by the firing of cannon and the cheers of assembled thousands. In the afternoon the train proceeded to Syracuse, and among the number was one who went on the first canal boat west. The rest of the week the cars ran free over the road. On Wednesday, July 3, the company commenced taking pay and the average receipts for many successive days were over $600 per day. Thursday, July 4, there was a great excursion over the road, and the day and the scene will not be soon forgotten by those who took part in the celebration. The road most of the way ran through a dense forest, and the road was upon piles, not filled in with earth between, and the train seemingly run in the air. Everything was new and rural. The heavy forest all around, with fresh openings for the track, piles of brush, new stumps, white logs stripped of their bark, the green foliage, the broken earth, the thousands of empty salt barrels scattered along the track, the great, excited and curious crowd, all made the day and the scene of thrilling interest.

In the spring of 1839, the primeval forest was cleared away to make room for the "Railroad House, at Oneida depot." That building yet remains, as does the "Railroad Hotel" at Rome, erected the next year.

On Wednesday, July 10, 1839, the completion of the road was duly celebrated. Two carloads of prominent citizens came July 9, from Albany as far as Utica, where they were welcomed by John Wilkinson, and there they remained over night. Among the number were Solomon Van Rensselaer a soldier of the revolution; Charles E. Dudley, John Townsend and Francis Bloodgood, three ex-mayors of Albany; David Wood, president of the Mohawk and Hudson railroad; Gideon Hawley, Lewis Benedict. At 5 A. M. Wednesday, July 10, 1839, two extra trains left Utica for Syracuse, with two locomotives to each train, and with banners flying, streamers flaunting, bands of music playing, and accompanied by the Utica Citizens' corps, and prominent citizens. All along the route large crowds of people gathered to welcome and cheer on the passing trains. The party reached Syracuse at eight and one-half A. M., and was received at the depot with military honors by a corps of artillery and escorted around the village amid the roaring of guns, the ringing of bells and the huzzas of the multitude. Dinner was

served, at which between 400 and 500 persons sat down. E. W. Leavenworth, president of the village, presided, assisted by ex-Mayor Townsend, of Albany. Toasts and speeches occupied the principal part of the afternoon. At 4 P. M. the party started to return, and the editor of the Albany *Journal*, who accompanied the excursionists, gave a brief but glowing account of the trip and seemed to think the acme of rapid traveling was reached.

The same week the road was completed, its stock was sold at ten per cent advance, and the Utica and Schenectady road declared its sixth semi-annual dividend of $5.00 per share. In that same month this portion of the State was excited and complimented by a visit from the illustrious Henry Clay, who visited Buffalo, Rochester, Syracuse, and thence to Oswego and down the St. Lawrence. He spoke in the Syracuse depot to a large crowd. A few weeks thereafter, President Van Buren went eastward from Buffalo over the whole length of the then completed railroad in the State, staying over Sunday at Geneva, speaking at the depot at Syracuse, and staying at Utica on the night of September 10, 1839.

Such in brief are some of the incidents in the organization, location and construction of the above road. But a few are now living who took an active and prominent part in the matters above referred to, and to some of them am I mainly indebted for the principal facts above narrated. The local newspapers of that day furnish but little from which to gather material.

It is extremely doubtful whether the grades in the southern part of this county could be effectually used now as an argument to induce a railroad to make the curve at Rome the present one does; but that argument, added to the tact, shrewd management and strenuous efforts of ex-Judge Foster and Hon. John Stryker, were the means of preventing Rome being left eight or ten miles out in the cold; and yet, subsequent experience in the history of railroads and of railroad connections, has demonstrated that it would have been an unwise measure and a short-sighted policy, both for Utica and railroads, to have had a break in the link in that city, and thereby necessitated a transhipment of freight and passengers from one depot to the other. Far better and wiser as it is.

THE TELEGRAPH AND ASSOCIATED PRESS.

BY ALEXANDER SEWARD.

READ BEFORE THE SOCIETY DECEMBER 31, 1878.

The "Telegraph in America," an elegant and valuable historical volume by J. D. Reid, just published, suggests the history of the Associated Press. It is claimed that the latter originated here, where the former found its most efficient promoters.

It is the fact that the first completed line of telegraph built by private enterprise in the United States, was that between Albany and Utica. The owners and builders were chiefly citizens of Utica. The only line of telegraph preceding this was the experimental one from Washington to Baltimore, built with an appropriation of $30,000 from Congress and opened early in 1844. Notwithstanding this line had demonstrated the practicability of telegraphic communication and had been operated under the Post Office Department for months, it was regarded by the government as a practical failure, not paying expenses. In this unpromising condition, the telegraph was adopted by private enterprise and brought to its present magnificent success.

More than a year elapsed from the completion of the experimental line when, about June 1, 1845, the following appeared in the N. Y. *Tribune:* "The citizens of Utica have completed arrangements for laying wires for the Magnetic Telegraph between Utica and Albany and the work is to be commenced at once. Negotiations are also in progress for extending the telegraph to Boston, but not completed. Mr. Kendall is now in the city with the arrangements for the Utica and Albany line all complete." The same paper, about July 30th, reported contracts for building the telegraph from Rochester to Buffalo, taken by Messrs. Livingston and Wells, and that the arrangements for lines from New York to Boston and from New York to Philadelphia "are now said to be complete."

On the 27th of August, 1845, the several contractors for telegraph lines from New York to Buffalo, viz: J. Butterfield, T. S. Faxton and H. Greenman of Utica, C. Livingston and H. Wells of

New York, met in this city, and appointed Mr. Faxton, President, and Mr. Livingston, Secretary. The telegraph, however, was then actually building and was nearly complete between Utica and Little Falls and between Lockport and Buffalo. These contractors subsequently consolidated their respective interests and formed a joint stock company under the title of the New York, Albany and Buffalo Electro Magnetic Telegraph Co.

Mr. Reid's book discloses the remarkable apathy of most business men and capitalists in regard to this great invention. It seems incredible that the small amounts* required for constructing the telegraph between the chief cities of the Union,—Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York and Boston,—should have been contributed mainly by non-residents of those enlightened centres of business intelligence and wealth.

The telegraph was completed from Albany to Utica, January 31, 1846; from Baltimore to Philadelphia, June 5; from New York to Boston, June 27; and from New York to Buffalo, September 9. The line between Philadelphia and New York was completed as far as Fort Lee—nine miles above New York on the west bank of the Hudson—January 20, 1846; but the river baffled all efforts, and over two years elapsed before complete telegraphic connection with Philadelphia was accomplished.

It is also true that the first State Associated Press originated in this city. It was the necessary sequel to the fact that the first telegraph line was opened to general business here. Nor can those who, from being then connected with the press, were obliged to invent a system for availing themselves of the advantages offered by the telegraph, claim any special merit for a contrivance which would doubtless have suggested itself to others similarly circumstanced. But the brief notice which Mr. Reid has given of the Associated Press, is so very inaccurate that it is, perhaps, a duty of this Historical Society, as a guardian of the truth, to correct his inadvertent errors. He says:

"On the 4th of July, 1846, the line having been completed between Albany and Buffalo, the idea of a State Associated Press was practically born by a call from President Faxton for a meeting of editors, by telegraph, in the various offices at that time open. This started the idea of a federation for the supply of tele-

* $10,000 from Baltimore to Philadelphia, $15,000 from Philadelphia to Ft. Lee.—The Telegraph in America, pp. 115, 124.

graphic news. The first daily reports to the press of the State were sent January 1, 1847."*

There was deposited with this Society, about three months since, a volume containing the correspondence with the proprietors of the *Utica Daily Gazette* relative to the formation of this Associated Press. This collection had passed the ordeal of two fires and escaped the greater peril of the paper-mill. It contains about a hundred letters from those who represented the daily newspaper press of the State from Albany to Buffalo thirty-three years ago, and it may become of some historic value two generations hence, when the memories of Croswell, Ten Eyck, Lacy, Northway, Smith, Oliphant, Dawson, Butts, Jerome, Foote, Jewett, Clapp, Stringham, &c., &c., have been further mellowed by age.

The telegraph was completed between Utica and Albany, as before stated, on Saturday, January 31, 1846. The first news dispatch—not "a few words," but nearly a column—appeared in the *Utica Daily Gazette* of February 3, 1846. The correspondence relative to the Associated Press begins contemporaneously and continues till the association is fully organized and in complete operation from Buffalo to Albany. The cause of the organization is also apparent. Necessity was the mother of this invention, as of many others. News dispatches—chiefly brief summaries of Congressional proceedings—had been telegraphed from Washington to Baltimore long before. But that government telegraph, like most government operations, was not a paying institution. The New York and Buffalo Telegraph was conducted on strictly business principles from the start. It offered great benefits to the local newspapers, but it required a compensation which in their then feeble condition they were unable single-handed to pay.† Hence the idea and the subsequent fact of the Associated Press. The daily newspapers in the State, west of Utica, mostly agreed to contribute to the expense of collecting and telegraphing the news from Albany to Utica, at which latter place it was printed in slips and forwarded by express in advance of the mails. Besides the proceedings of the Legislature, which were telegraphed as they

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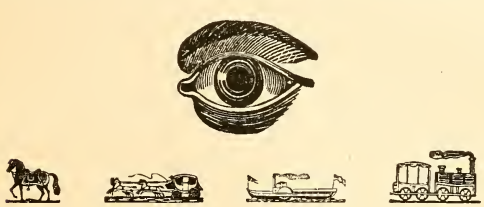
* The Telegraph in America, page 307.

† The profits at the New York office from the line to Philadelphia from January 1 to June 6, (twenty-two weeks,) were reported $293.17.—Telegraph in America, page 125. The New York, Albany and Buffalo Telegraph Company was paid $100 per week for news dispatches alone, on the completion of the line between New York and Buffalo.

occurred, and the Albany market, the dispatches consisted of a summary of news made up from the New York papers as soon as they arrived in Albany. The device of the *Gazette* at the head of the telegraphic dispatch: "the Eye, representing Ubiquity, calmly looking down upon the former swiftest modes of conveyance," the horse, stage, steamboat and locomotive—is probably remembered by some of the elder members of the Society.



When the telegraph was completed to Syracuse, June 1, 1846, the receipt and forwarding of telegraph dispatches was transferred to the papers of that city. A meeting of the editors from Utica to Buffalo was held there, to arrange matters, May 28.

The meeting of July 4, which Mr. Reid mentions, was in pursuance of the following invitation:

"T. S. F.'s compliments to the editors of all the daily papers between Albany and Buffalo: will be happy to meet them and their friends at the different telegraph stations, on the Fourth, between the hours of 4 and 5 P. M., for the purpose of interchange of sentiments."

Thus it appears that this meeting was a social gathering, of President Faxton's happy invention, to celebrate the day and the accomplishment of instantaneous communication, by the electric fluid, between Lake Erie and the Hudson river. Twenty-one years before, the water connection between the two had been magnificently celebrated, and the event telegraphed by cannon from Buffalo to New York. The *Gazette* of July 4, 1846, thus announced the more wonderful fact:

"THE HUDSON TALKING TO LAKE ERIE!

The lightning flashed through from Albany to Buffalo, 325 miles by railroad, this morning at 8½ o'clock. The Telegraph now spans the Empire State! The events transpiring at the Capital, at one end, are made known at the other extremity in 'less than no time'—from twenty minutes to half an hour before they happen.

This is the longest line of telegraph in the world. The swift messengers, upon whose wings messages are sent along the copper track, are bred in a large galvanic battery in the loft of Dudley's Triangle in this city. The fluid there generated makes a circuit of 650 miles. The only object *it* has in view is to get from one end of the battery into the other, like a carrier-dove returning to the spot where it was trained. This fiery steed, whose speed surpasses the imaginings of tales of the Genii; this mighty agent, whose sports are in the volcano and tornado; this weapon of the ancient king of heaven, forged in the infernal regions;—the utilitarian of our day approaches and says: 'I'll trouble you with a line.'"

A two-column account of Mr. Faxton's novel party was given in the next *Gazette*, entitled, "Electro-Magnetic Drama, or a Lightning Sociable," consisting of "a single act without change of scene, as these necessities of the drama do not appertain to electro-magnetic performances." In other words, time and space were annihilated.

On the 5th of August, the editors from Albany to Buffalo met in this city, and extended and perfected their association, preparatory to the opening of the line to New York city, on September 9, 1846.

LETTER OF DR. SAMUEL L. MITCHELL, 1804,

RELATIVE TO THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE, WITH BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF ITS WRITER.

BY MORVEN M. JONES.

READ BEFORE THE SOCIETY, MARCH 2, 1881.

Samuel Latham Mitchell was born at North Hempstead, Long Island, August 26, 1764, and became distinguished as a physician and scientist, a politician and statesman, a wit and an author. He commenced his studies with his uncle, Dr. Samuel Latham, and Dr. Bard, of New York, and completed the course at the University of Edinburgh, where he graduated as a Doctor of Medicine, in 1786.

Returning to New York the following year, he studied law, but his tastes and studies finally settled him in the medical profession, and he soon arose to distinction. In 1788, he was appointed a Commissioner to treat with the Six Nations of Indians, for the purchase of lands in Western New York. In 1792 he was appointed Professor of Chemistry, Natural History and Philosophy, in Columbia College, and soon became extensively known in the field of the natural sciences, as well as of polite literature. While at Columbia College, he acquired considerable distinction as well as notoriety, in a controversy with Dr. Priestly, as to some of the theories of Lavoisier, the celebrated French scientist, who was guillotined in 1794. It is said that Dr. Mitchell dissented from Lavoisier, who was accused of treating Dr. Priestly unfairly, as to some of his discoveries, and yet this dissent led to a controversy with Priestly, which resulted in a life-long friendship. The Frenchman had succeeded in exploding the notion of phlogiston, which had, among the learned down to that period, served to clog and obscure all new discoveries, because they had accepted the old dogma, that inert fire existed in everything that would burn.

In 1796, Dr. Mitchell made a geological and mineralogical tour of the banks of the Hudson, a report of which he published, and which established his fame in this country and Europe.

Not far from this period, in connection with R. R. Livingston and Simeon DeWitt, he founded the Society for the Promotion of Agriculture, Manufactures and the Useful Arts, a society whose influences have been felt to this date, by its introduction and encouragement of better modes of agriculture, of finer breeds of cattle, horses and sheep, and domestic manufactures in the agricultural portions of the country.

In 1797, in conjunction with Drs. Edward Miller and Elihu H. Smith, Dr. Mitchell founded the Quarterly *Medical Repository*, which he edited for sixteen years. This was the first scientific periodical published in the United States.

In 1808, Dr. Mitchell became Professor of Natural History in the College of Physicians and Surgeons, in New York, and subsequently of Botany and Materia Medica. In 1826 this college gave place to the Rutgers Medical School, of which Dr. Mitchell became Vice President, 1826–30.

In 1815, with Drs. Hosack and Hugh Williamson, he founded the New York Literary and Philosophical Society.

Dr. Mitchell Published, 1787, "Observations on the Absorbent Tubes of Animal Bodies;" 1794, "Nomenclature of the New Chemistry" and "Present State of Learning in the College of New York;" 1795, "Life, Exploits and Precepts of Tammany, the Famous Indian Chief;" a half historical, half fanciful Address before the Tammany Society, of New York; 1801, "History of the Botanical Writers of America."

Dr. Mitchell proposed to change the name of this country to Fredonia, and in 1804 published "An Address to the Fredes or People of the United States." His eccentricities were satirized in the Poems of "Croaker & Co.," by Halleck & Drake. His wit and witticisms, not always discreet, often sharp and personal, made him extensively known and involved him in many bloodless controversies.

In 1791, Dr. Mitchell represented Queens county in the Assembly of this State, and in 1798 and 1810 he represented New York city in the same body. He was elected to the Seventh, Eighth and Ninth Congresses of the United States, (1801–7,) but after his election to the latter, was elected United States Senator, which office he held until February 7, 1809. In June, 1810, he was again elected to Congress, to fill a vacancy, and was re-elected to the Twelfth Congress, (1811–13).

While he was distinguished particularly in the line of the natural sciences and polite literature, he was an active worker in the fields of National and State politics, and was no mean antagonist in the bitter partisan contests, which characterized and marred the Jeffersonian era, in our nation's history. He had a remarkable memory, and had stored it with facts and theories from the whole range of books, within the scope of his enterprise and research.

Judge Hammond, in his Political History, Vol. I, p. 215, thus speaks of Dr. Mitchell, and his election to the United States Senate: "The Legislature, after appointing Electors, (of President and Vice President, in November, 1804,) chose Dr. Samuel L. Mitchell, as the successor of General (John) Armstrong, (who had been appointed Minister to France, and had resigned his seat in the Senate.) Dr. Mitchell was a learned man, and had read much. He was perfectly honest and sincere, but almost ridiculously vain. He was well acquainted with books, but knew little of men. He supported the republican party because Mr. Jefferson was its leader, and he supported Mr. Jefferson because he was a philosopher."

This was written forty years after Dr. Mitchell had become distinguished as a scientist in this country and Europe, forty years in which greater progress had been made in the inexact sciences, than in the preceding two hundred years.

Dr. Mitchell was succeeded in the United States Senate by General Obadiah German, of Chenango county, who was chosen at the Legislative Session of 1809, and at the general election in April, of that year, Dr. Mitchell was again chosen member of Assembly of this State. To prepare himself for the duties of his office, to learn the progress made in the settlement of Western New York, and the wants of the people of the interior of the State, he spent the summer of 1809 in a tour between Albany and Buffalo. On his return, he varied his route in different directions, that he might see as much as possible. He had previously visited Oswego by way of Oneida Lake and Onondaga River. During the next Session of the Legislature, (1810), various projects for canals and the improvement of the internal navigation of the State were presented. Most of these were crude and impracticable. These were all superceded by the concurrent resolutions of March 13, 1810, appointing Commissions to explore the route and procure surveys in reference to the inland navigation of the State from Hudson River to Lake Ontario and Lake Erie. As a friend of the project, which resulted in the Erie Canal, and from his

familiarity with the country as well as his reputation as a scientist, he was offered a place upon the Commission, which he declined.

At Utica, the Doctor decided to proceed with his wife and company, by boat down the Mohawk to Schenectady. On arriving at the boat station, he found only three batteaux at all fit for his purpose. Asking an explanation, he was informed that the business was so poor, the navigation of the Mohawk so slow and difficult, that most of the boats had been sent to Lake Ontario where business was good. Upon inquiring of the business men of Utica, he was informed that the unavoidable irregularity of the carrying business on the Mohawk, and occasional risk and loss, had terminated in most of the transportation business to and from Albany being done by wagons—that by wagons they could predict almost to an hour, when a load would reach Albany, and with almost equal certainty when the vehicle with its load of merchandise would be back. The Doctor and his party proceeded to Albany by land. The Western Inland Lock Navigation Company, which had constructed locks at Little Falls, and a canal across the carrying place between the Mohawk and Wood Creek had been a failure financially, having expended its entire capital and income, and large sums borrowed, and it was apparent to Dr. Mitchell that some other system, than patching up the natural water courses was, or soon would be, required to answer the wants of our increasing population in Central and Western New York.

Daniel D. Tompkins was now, (1809,) Governor of this State. The dissatisfaction with the Embargo laws of President Madison's administration, or other causes, had given the Federalists a majority of the Assembly. At that day, instead of a message, at the commencement of the session, the Governor opened the session with a speech or address after the pattern of British sovereigns in opening Parliament, and the house made a reply. The reply this year, as reported by the committee, was bitter and severe, attacking the national administration, through Governor Tompkins, and charging that we had more cause for war with France than with Great Britain.

Napoleon had agreed to revoke the "Berlin and Milan decrees" when the British should rescind their "Orders in council," and the British Minister at Washington, had entered into a treaty with our Government, that the Orders in council should be repealed on the 10th of June, but the British Government repudiated the acts of its minister, and refused to repeal or modify its Orders in council. We had then French and British parties, so called, in the

United States. The Berlin and Milan decrees, and the Orders in council were in force still in their greatest vigor at the time of this session of the Legislature in February, 1810.

To the Federal response to the Governor's speech, Dr. Mitchell offered a substitute, approving the action of Mr. Madison's administration in its attempts by the Embargo to retaliate upon the British and French Governments. Many of the strong men of the Assembly, on both sides, made speeches for and against the substitute. A prominent gentleman who heard Dr. Mitchell's argument says,* it "afforded evidence of much reading, considerable ability, and great benevolence of heart," yet he thought "it smelt of the shop." The Doctor, in speaking of preparations for war, and the resources of the country, stated that an abundance of saltpetre could be found among us. Seeming to forget himself, and as though delivering a lecture to a class of college students, the Doctor went off into a minute detail of the history of the discovery of the art of making gunpowder, and the chemical laws which governed the process, thus transforming the house into a chemical laboratory, with the members listening to a scientific discourse on the affinities of matter. The Doctor's substitute was defeated by a strict party vote.

Until the adoption of the Constitution of 1821 by this State, lotteries had been looked upon as a proper mode for raising funds in aid of educational and scientific institutions. For years Union and Hamilton Colleges shared in the funds accruing from the profits of a "Literature Lottery," with a board of managers, under a special act of our Legislature. Who among us now would recommend raising funds for any good object by this mode of gambling? To promote medical science a lottery was organized in 1815, and Dr. Mitchell, from his prominence and extensive reputation, was selected to subscribe the lottery tickets. As a curiosity of the kind, I give a copy of such a ticket:

FIRST LOTTERY.

"STATE OF NEW YORK No. 17,746.

MEDICAL SCIENCE LOTTERY.

This Ticket will entitle the possessor to such prize as shall be drawn to its number in the First Lottery for the promotion of Medical Science, agreeably to an Act of the Legislature of this State, passed March 12, 1810. Subject to a deduction of 15 per cent.

(P) New York, March, 1815. SAM'L L. MITCHELL."

Dr. Mitchell died in New York City, September 7, 1831.

*Pol. Hist., I, 283.

LETTER OF DR. MITCHELL.

WASHINGTON, January 15th, 1804.

My Dear Sir:—This will probably find you on the eve of departure for Albany. And I write it, that you may possess it as a document to enable you to converse with the more intelligence on the question of Louisiana whenever it shall be agitated, either in public or private. The information I am about to give you is derived from the highest source, in Europe, and was known to very few even at the seat of the national government, before I imparted it to them.

Our Minister at Paris had for a considerable time foreseen that the *east* bank of the Mississippi, to which he thought the views of our government were confined, would be insufficient to insure our tranquility, if an active, powerful and enlightened people occupied the *west* bank, particularly the country that lies above the river Arkansas, opposite to our western establishments.

Mr. Livingston therefore, *though without powers*, first endeavored to satisfy the people in power at Paris that establishments in Louisiana would be of no use to them, and that if they should continue to possess Louisiana, it was proper to give us all the country above the Arkansas in order to interpose us between them and Canada. He got his reflections on this subject submitted to Buonaparte the first Consul, through his brother, and notwithstanding his violent attachment to it, procured an assurance from him that some arrangement should be made satisfactory to our government on this subject, and that it should be done in America by the then intended Minister Bernadotte.

In March, 1803, he ventured upon what was considered there and may, you will easily believe, be deemed here a bold and hazardous measure. This was no less than a direct and forcible address to the first Consul personally on the subject of the commercial claims of our citizens. By this extraordinary overture Mr. Livingston obtained from Buonaparte a *positive assurance* that they should be fully and speedily paid. Having accomplished this point he began to look forward to an accomplishment, by means of it, of his other object; because he was now sure that the first Consul could not recede from his own personal promise, and in case of a war which then began to be probable, could he find any other means of discharging the debt than by a cession of country.

The spirited conduct of Congress and indeed of the Nation in the affair of New Orleans was also of use, and so strongly pressed by Mr. L. upon Talleyrand that Mr. T. called upon Mr. L. for some proposition relative to that country. Though he *was wholly unauthorized by our government*, he nevertheless ventured on the 14th of March, to make them explicitly for the east side of the river and all above the Arkansas on the west, and he received a verbal assurance a few days after, that the next day should bring him a full and satisfactory answer. It is probable that such an

answer was prepared, which all was thrown aback by the receipt of letters from Mr. Pichon assuring them "that all was quiet."

On this information they determined to wait and see whether the war with England would pass over, and whether a better bargain could not be made. But as Mr. L. continued to press the execution of Buonaparte's promise for the debt, and an explicit recognition of our right of deposit on the Mississippi the first Consul announced to Council on the 8th (four days before Mr. Monroe arrived there) his determination to sell the country to us the next day. The Minister called upon our Minister for a specific proposition the day after. The business was put into the hands of Mr. Marbois for certain cogent though delicate reasons, but as they said, out of respect to Mr. L. as his friend. Talleyrand had alarmed him by pretending that he had no particular authority to speak to him on the subject, but at the same time called upon him to say what he would give. As by this time our Minister had heard of Mr. Monroe's arrival at Havre he refused to act until the arrival of his associate; but asked why they wished him to make a proposal for the whole of Louisiana, when he had only asked for the east side of the river and a portion on the west? The Minister replied that he had asked all that was worth having, and therefore must take the whole. On this Mr. L. told him he had no objection; but would now wait until Mr. Monroe came up.

On the evening of the 12th, Mr. Monroe arrived. On the 13th, while Mr. Monroe was at dinner with Mr. Livingston, Mr. Marbois was discovered to be walking in Mr. L.'s garden. He was sent for and invited in; but he declined saying he would come in the evening. When he came he seemed to be surprised at seeing Mr. Monroe, not having, as he said, heard of his arrival. After a short visit, he departed requesting, as there was company at Mr. L.'s that our Minister would come to the Treasury that evening at eleven. He went accordingly; and there they in a formal manner discussed the whole business of the cession, which Mr. Livingston told Mr. Marbois he would communicate to Mr. Monroe. During this interview Mr. Marbois promised to procure full powers. The discussion continued until after two in the morning.

The next day Mr. L. presented Mr. Monroe to the Minister, who received him politely, but said nothing of business. The great point having been gained, to wit, the difficulty of bringing the Consul to sell, the subsequent discussion related only to the price and to matters of form. So that if Mr. Monroe had not been taken ill, and confined to his bed for ten or twelve days, (having been taken four days after his arrival) the negotiation would probably have been completed before the 20th of April.

You will easily see that the difficulties attending the Treaty were very great; and what is very remarkable it was chiefly conducted verbally and without correspondence in writing. This is the reason why so little of it has been laid before the public, and even as I understand, before the Senate. And for this reason, am I so particular in giving you what may be considered the interior and confidential history of this important transaction.

Our fellow citizens ought to understand that the most perfect accordance of sentiments has taken place between Mr. Livingston and Mr. Monroe in every measure that regarded the Treaty, and in the steps which had been taken to pave the way for its execution previous to his arrival. After that event, the principal business consisted of commercial arrangements, and the price; and in all these our Commissioners met with much candour on the part of Mr. Marbois.

In Paris, I have been informed, it is considered a most important acquisition, and has procured for Mr. L. the congratulations of the whole diplomatic corps; who knew the difficulties that were to be encountered, and were warmly and vainly soliciting the payment of their respective claims, and appreciated accordingly the success that had attended the application for ours.

Our political friends may be gratified by a knowledge of these events. The British Government has been said by some to be deserving of the merit of this negotiation. They have however no pretension at all, for Lord Whitworth declared before he left Paris that Louisiana had never been a subject of discussion between him and the French Government. This would seem to be the case on the evidence of the papers laid before Parliament by Lord Hawkesbury, who in announcing this negotiation, declared he had no knowledge of it, until it was communicated officially. And the fact appears to be, that Mr. King who made it known to his Lordship, knew nothing of it himself before it was concluded; and then communicated it by direction of our Ministers at Paris.

Before concluding, I believe I ought to mention to you, that I have, since I have been here, been spoken to and written to by our political friends, in relation to the vacant seat in the Senate of United States, so often, that I wish my friends to act as they think for the best on the occasion.

Yours, with sincerity and great respect,

Sam'l L. Mitchell.

THE NEEDS AND PURPOSES OF THE ONEIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

BY S. N. D. NORTH.

READ BEFORE THE SOCIETY DECEMBER 10, 1878.

Such frequent inquiry is made of the gentlemen connected with the Oneida Historical Society, respecting the character of the donations needed to make its collections complete and valuable, that it seems desirable to have these questions all answered at once, and fully, in the name of the Society. The public, already convinced that this Society is to be a permanent and a live institution, shows a disposition to extend that aid and sympathy without which our hands are tied. The approach of the date set apart for the formal opening of the Society's rooms, furnishes another reason why its claims and wants should be clearly made known. In the following paper an effort has been made to express the views of the Society at large regarding its own work; and if any member has any addition, suggestion or correction to offer, it should be made freely, in order that the whole ground may be covered.

Many citizens who stand ready to respond to the appeals of the Society, have hesitated to make the gifts within their power because they are not sure that what they have to give comes within the legitimate domain of the Society. To all such, exact information will be a guide; and the Society itself may find that its collections will thus receive a coveted and valuable increase.

THE SCOPE OF THE SOCIETY.

A prevalent misapprehension as to the scope of the Oneida Historical Society should be thus early corrected. This misapprehension may have arisen from the local character of the Society's name—a localization which could not well have been avoided. Because it is "The Oneida Historical Society at Utica," it should not

be inferred that its jurisdiction is bounded by the limits of Oneida county. A historical society deals with the past; and Oneida county is a modern civil division. The original civil division of this section of the State was the county of Tryon—erected in 1772; rechristened Montgomery in contempt of a royal Governor in 1784; divided in 1791 into the counties of Montgomery, Otsego, Tioga, Ontario and Herkimer—Oneida county being erected out of the latter in 1798. It is obviously the mission of this Society to cover the entire territory embraced in the original civil division of Central New York. It is a wide field; for the boundaries of Tryon county included all the territory lying west of a line running nearly north and south through the present county of Schoharie. All the State of New York west of that line is our legitimate field. If there are, or should hereafter be, kindred institutions in cities west of us, we welcome them as coadjutors in a broad field of investigation, where the harvest will be abundant for all.

The Home of the Iroquois.

There is another and a better reason why we aim to gather within these archives the history of the territory comprised in the original limits of Tryon county. That county included the hunting grounds of the Five Nations of Iroquois, who were the owners of this soil before our fathers possessed themselves of it, and whose civil and military achievements form the only glorious chapter in the aboriginal history of America. We are at the centre of the famous "long house," within fifty miles of the spot where the council fires were held, and so directly in the home of the Oneida tribe of the Iroquois—the only one of the original Five Nations which stood by the colonists in their struggle for independence—that Utica's Cemetery Association is permitted to be the custodian of its Sacred Stone. There is no association in this country which makes it its special mission to preserve and perpetuate the history of the Iroquois. By reason of our exceptional advantages of location, that should be the special purpose of the Oneida Historical Society.

History of the Original Tryon County.

In many ways the original Tryon county is peculiarly and exceptionally interesting in a historical point of view. Hither penetrated the earliest of the Jesuit missions. Here lived and labored and died Sir William Johnson—in many respects the most

prominent figure in the colonial annals of America. Here also lived his sons and their ally, Joseph Brant, who made the Mohawk valley forever memorable as the scene of the fiercest and most relentless Indian and Tory massacre. Hither migrated the chief segment of the exiled Palatinates; and the story of their pioneer battles with the wilderness, their Revolutionary patriotism under circumstances the most perilous that tested the nerve of any colonists, with the later record of their remarkable assimilation with the American race—a story never yet fully written out—offers inspiration for song, romance and history. Here also settled one of the earliest and most important Welsh colonies in the United States; and their story is likewise yet to be written. Here were the frontier and defensive forts and castles both of the French, the Indians, the English and the colonists—Fort Bull, Fort Plain, Fort House, Fort Hill, Fort Hunter, Fort Dayton, Fort Schuyler, Fort Stanwix, Fort Oswego, Fort Brewerton. Here passed and repassed, along the watercourses, over the Indian fords and through the trackless forests, the military expeditions of French and English, until the prowess of the latter at length determined that the English race and civilization should predominate upon the continent. Here were fought the battles of Oriskany and Saratoga, upon whose fields the war for independence ceased to be a rebellion and became a revolution. Here the Western Inland Lock Navigation Company made the first attempt at artificial water navigation in America—an attempt which soon developed into the Erie canal, upon whose waters the commerce of a continent traverses from the lakes to the Atlantic. Here was the scene of the romantic adventure and the untoward fate of the Castorland Company. Here was the home, and here is the grave and the monument, of the brave Baron Steuben. Here was constructed the most famous turnpike thoroughfare in New York State. Here was tested one of the first railroads ever built, and perhaps the first trunk road. Here was organized the first express company. Here the telegraph was put to its first practical utility. Here were erected the first cotton factory and the first woolen factory chartered by the State of New York. Here the first cheese factory was built. Here were founded the second and third oldest collegiate institutions within the borders of the State, in one of which—Hamilton College—was made the only attempt to educate and christianize the savage Iroquois. Here the Holland Land Company left its impress, and here were located the most princely grants of the royal governors. Here, on the lordly acres of Gerrit Smith, were the headquarters

of the underground railroad. Here another enthusiast, in sympathy with Gerrit Smith, yet unlike him in many ways, undertook the experiment of the industrial education and failed. Here has been the home of more than a due proportion of the statesmen whose life-work is a part of the history of New York and the nation.

How the Public can Assist the Society.

We pass to the nature of the assistance this Society may justly expect to receive from the whole community of Central New York, in its endeavor to gather together the tangled threads of this network of history. A historical society is the proper custodian of everything that bears upon the history of the community around it. Where there is no such custodian, these several threads of local history are apt to be scattered and lost. We have had many instances of the fate of private collections. During the life-time of the collector, they are preserved and augmented. When he dies, a single generation perhaps, will respect his legacy. After that it will be carted to the auction room or the paper mill. Even in communities where historical societies exist, whatever of this character is not committed to their care, is liable to be lost, sooner or later. This statement could be enforced by many instances that have come within the personal observation of the members of this Society. Our corresponding secretary, Mr. Jones, relates that when Abraham M. Walton, who was a descendant of the Walton family of colonial New York, came to Deerfield to practice law, he brought with him a large number of documents, both private and public, of a varied and valuable character. When he died, these papers were carefully removed to the loft of a store on Genesee street. Here they remained, undisturbed and forgotten, until fire came: and most of what the fire left, the water made illegible. When the debris was carried away, several bushel baskets of these old papers were sold to the paper men, where Mr. Jones, by a happy accident, arrived in time to rescue a few remnants of parchment. There was a case in Clinton, where a lady from another town moved into a house and found upon taking possession that the garret was loaded with piles of old manuscripts, old letters, old deeds, old newspapers and old-fashioned books—the accumulation of many years and of other families. They represented nothing that was valuable to her, except the room they occupied; and upon the whole she did the most natural thing when she had the whole assortment carted into the back-yard and treated her children to a

glorious bonfire. The discovery was subsequently made that that garret had been the depository—among other things—of the manuscript sermons of Dr. Azel Backus, the first president of Hamilton College.

The Destruction of Historical Materials.

Just before the recent semi-centennial of Whitestown Seminary, a member of this Society interested in the early history of that institution visited Albany to learn from the daughter of a former treasurer what had been done with certain documents and records relating to the school, which had been in his keeping. He found that most of those records had been burned when the family moved —simply because they knew of no other disposition that could conveniently be made of them. I have recently been told of an instance in Utica where an accumulation of carefully assorted pamphlets and files in one of our oldest houses was committed to the flames, because there appeared to be nothing else to do with it. These destroyers of history are not so much to blame. Such piles of "rubbish"—so the thrifty housewife must necessarily regard them—are neither ornamental nor useful in the average American home. They are finally burned or sold, because there is no other known use to which they can be put. If the Oneida Historical Society had been in existence at the time these incendiary fires occured, these accumulations might have been committed to its care; and some of the experienced antiquarians who constitute its membership would gladly have examined them, sorting out what was valuable historically, and leaving the real "rubbish" for the old paper man.

Had this Society been founded twenty-five years earlier, its collections would now be enriched by a mass of valuable documents, vital to a true and full knowledge of our local history, which is not only destroyed, but in the destruction that knowledge has gone also. We know of instances where donations have been made to societies elsewhere because there was no society here—donations valuable anywhere, but especially valuable in a community whose history they would illustrate. Thus Governor Seymour, many years ago, presented the Buffalo Historical Society with the journals and other papers of Judge Adrian Vander Kemp—one of the noblest, and certainly the most learned of the pioneers of Oneida county. Dr. S. Wells Williams presented to the New York Historical Society the files, more or less complete, of the newspapers formerly published by his father in Utica, and known as the *Utica*

Patriot, and *Utica Patriot and Patrol.* This Society is now making an effort to secure these files from New York for its own collections. Here they will be often referred to, for innumerable purposes. There they are of so little comparative value, in the mass of materials accumulated through nearly one hundred years, that a Utica gentleman who went recently to inspect them for a purpose of his own, was unable to find them, and arrived at the conclusion that they were stored away somewhere in the cellar or the garret. Let us be thankful that this Society is at length organized, that it is so fortunately provided with a secure and commodious repository; and that it has already rescued from destruction or from a similar exile, this interesting and invaluable collection that we see about us to-day. Now that it is organized, no housewife or executor or heir in Central New York can say in excuse for applying the match to the garret collection, that they knew not where to deposit the dusty accumulations of their fathers for which they themselves have neither room nor use. In every such case, upon notification from the parties, the Oneida Historical Society will gladly send a skilled and competent agent to inspect such collections, and to bring to a safe keeping here whatever in them possesses a permanent historical value.

The Garret Accumulations.

It would not be safe to insist that all the garret accumulations possess this permanent historical value. There is on the contrary an immense amount of trash in nearly all such collections. But always, when the chaff is thus destroyed, there are some grains of wheat destroyed with it. In many instances it may require experts to separate the wheat from the chaff; and one of the purposes of this Society will be to raise up such experts from among the number of its active members. What this Society claims is, that no such destruction should be permitted until examination has been made, to discover whether something—even though it be a small thing—can not there be found, whose preservation will add to the completeness of these collections. If this suggestion will be borne in mind, instances of destruction which are occurring almost every day, can be somewhat checked. So long as the Oneida Historical Society is not invested with the power to fine and imprison every person who is guilty of such destruction, there ought to be a higher law in wholesome public sentiment that shall give the Society an opportunity to save what is valuable from the rapacious and relentless clutch of the rag man.

What the Society Wants.

For the information of all persons who may feel disposed to aid the Society in this work of preservation, the following list has been prepared at the suggestion of the Society, of the donations solicited. It has been made as comprehensive as a specific and definite statement will permit. The Society has addressed its attention especially to the collection of the following:

I.—BOOKS.

A—All books of whatsoever character, published within the limits of the territory represented by this Society.

B—All books published elsewhere by persons now or formerly resident within this territory.

C—All books relating to the history of the Five Nations, and the Indians generally.

D—All books relating to the history, the biography, the development, the characteristics, the manufactures, the commerce and the agriculture of the counties of Central New York.

E—All the publications of other historical societies.

F—All the publications of the State of New York.

G—All the publications of the United States bearing upon the history or the development of the country.

H—All other publications which relate to American history—with a view to making the local library comprehensive on all questions relating to the history of this country.

II.—PAMPHLETS.

A—All pamphlets which come under any of the above descriptions of books wanted.

B—All published sermons having either a local, historical or personal significance, and all historical and anniversary discourses.

C—Catalogues and reports of all the schools, academies, colleges, and other institutions of education or charity, within the purview of the Society.

D—All published speeches of public men within these limits.

E—All political, religious, commercial and statistical tracts and reports, published within this territory.

III.—NEWSPAPER FILES.

A—Bound files of all the newspapers that are or have been published within this territory.

B—Odd copies of old newspapers which have been preserved for any purpose, and which will be valuable to the Society in completing files.

The Society will be glad to receive unbound files of newspapers, giving in each case a guarantee that they will be properly bound, except when they are duplicates of bound files already in its possession.

IV.—MANUSCRIPTS.

A—Deeds and indentures; B—Autograph letters; C—Journals; D—Surveys and field-books; E—Muster rolls, etc.

V.—MAPS.

All old maps, of a local or general character, are acceptable donations.

VI.—PICTURES AND PHOTOGRAPHS.

A—Portraits and busts of local and historical personages.

B—Views of historic spots and structures.

C—All pictures and photographs which have a local or historical value.

VII.—INDIAN MEMORIALS.

Prehistoric and Indian remains, of every variety and description, are valuable always.

VIII.—MISCELLANEOUS RELICS.

These are the most difficult of any kind of gifts about which to give definite information. There is much matter collected under this head, with which this Society has nothing to do. But relics or mementoes which are connected in any way with the early history of a locality, or with the personal experiences of its early settlers, rarely fail to have a permanent value in the collections of historical societies.

IX.—SPECIMENS IN GEOLOGY AND NATURAL HISTORY.

All specimens which illustrate the geological formation of the territory of this Society are welcome additions to its collections; the same remark applies to all specimens which illustrate its natural history.

There may be other articles, not classified under either of the above heads, which possess something of historic interest, and such are always welcomed.

As we are making history every day, the Society is especially desirous that the publishers, authors or compilers of the current circular, pamphlet and book literature of the day shall form the habit of depositing copies with its librarian.

It will be observed that the books which the Society seeks, are as a rule, the class of books which are lightly estimated in a general or family library.

It will naturally happen, in receiving donations from a variety of sources, that duplicates will accumulate. As soon as possible, the Society will publish a classified catalogue of its collections and library. In the meanwhile, duplicates are always valuable, especially for purposes of exchange.

The ground covered above presents a wide range. The list of books alone includes a vast number of volumes, only a very small proportion of which are yet in the possession of the Society. It will be seen that the Society is anxious to supplement its library in such a way that the history of the State, the United States and the continent will be accessible on its shelves to the local student, for purposes of comparison, verification and parallel research.

The attention of residents in the Mohawk Valley and in all the sister counties which are segments of the old Tryon county, is respectfully invited to the above suggestions, in hope that they will be prompted to assist in making the Oneida Historical Society what it is intended to be—a comprehensive receptacle for the archives of all Central New York. They may rest assured of three things—first, that whatever they may send, will be cared for; second, that its individual value will be greatly enhanced, for all purposes of historical research, by association with the other collections of the Society; and third, that in the altogether improbable event of the dissolution of the Oneida Historical Society, every donation will be returned to the donor or his heirs.

Cui Bono?

In answer to the question, to what use can these collections be put, it may be said, in a word, that they are the raw material of history—the straw from which the bricks are to be made. They are the sources from which the chronicles of the community will hereafter be written. They are its protection against careless and inaccurate statement. They are the tangible evidences of the honorable achievements of our predecessors. They are the guide, by which we can best measure the achievement that will be honorable in us. This room is a school room for the growing generation, which may here acquire that knowledge neglected elsewhere—a knowledge of our own home history. They have besides a more practical utility that has already been demonstrated, not alone to the historian, but to the real estate owner, the lawyer, the politician, the editor, the man of business generally; for here facts can

be established, causes analyzed, impressions verified, doubts settled. Thus by loyalty to the past, we can serve the present and the future.

In conclusion, it should be said that the Society does not regard itself as in any selfish sense the proprietor of these collections. They belong to the public, to Central New York; and the Oneida Historical Society simply holds them in trust, for the use and the benefit of the public. It is a guardian merely; and therefore it is that the Society feels not the slightest modesty in asking and accepting donations from all who have and are willing to give. Whatever is here deposited, will be at all times accessible to the sincere student and investigator, subject only to such regulations as the safety of the collections may require.

APPENDIX.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN, MADE TO THE SOCIETY JANUARY 13, 1880.

To the Oneida Historical Society at Utica:

In compliance with your constitution, the undersigned would respectfully submit his second annual report. Confined mainly to dry details, he can not expect to present a paper which shall possess much of interest to the public; but to the active members of the Society the facts and details of my department furnish the evidences of the progress you have made, and the favor you have found with the people. During your first years, you could not decide who and how many had been induced to join your ranks and contribute to your library and cabinet, because your Society was a novelty, nor how many would prove merely "sunshine patriots," leaving for newer fields when the novelty of your first "send off" had commenced to wear off. The past year has decided the question of your continued existence. The same fidelity and activity on the part of the number, never large, who regularly attend the meetings and are at all times alive to your interests, insure the perpetuity of the Oneida Historical Society.

At every meeting during the past year many valuable donations have been made to your library and cabinet, and still there are no indications that the stores have been exhausted. The publicity given to these donations has suggested to others that they, too, had treasures—old books, newspapers, records and manuscripts, laid away and forgotten and thought to possess little or no value, but really as valuable as many which have been so thankfully received. In my attempts to arrange and find places for these articles, I have often discovered names, dates and facts which render them of much value to the future historians of your field, a field which a century ago constituted the hunting grounds, intersected by the war-paths of the Oneidas and Mohawks—yet some of the donors of these old torn, soiled, worm-eaten books and papers have almost apologized for the condition and smallness of their gifts. Central New York is yet rich in objects of this character, hidden

away in garrets, old chests and cupboards, and all that is required for their acquisition is an earnest, continued, yet polite advocacy of the claims and objects of this Society. People exhibit but little haste or enthusiasm in exposing or disposing of their old household gods.

The contents of your library and cabinet have been divided into five classes, and the following table shows the number in each, at the close of the year, since you have had a place for your treasures, and the increase during the past year:

	1879.	1880.	*Increase.*
1. Bound books,	512	829	317
2. Pamphlets,	346	644	298
3. Newspapers and periodicals,	222	268	46
4. Manuscripts, documents, maps,	227	296	69
5. Relics and works of art,	67	83	16
Total,	1,374	2,120	746

In the third and fourth classes a number may include a volume of newspapers or a single paper, a lot of an hundred or two of old letters and documents or a single article, and had your librarian been only desirous of high numbers, these could have been easily doubled.

Your librarian would here, now, in this public manner urge upon the members and friends of the Society the necessity of more room for the arrangement and exhibition of your property. To render the books useful and their stores of historical knowledge accessible, there should be room for their classification, which can not now be done. New cases for the many volumes of newspapers, now unprotected, are also a necessity. Proper cases for the preservation and exhibition of the mass of manuscripts, Indian and historic relics and mementoes would be inducements to many others to make us the custodians of their articles. The present cases may be pronounced safe, but they are deficient in room and in proper arrangement. One motive in thus bringing the wants of the Society before the public has been in the hope that public spirited citizens may see and meet those wants.

Bound Books.

The above statement shows that of these 317 have been received in the past year. Of these the most valuable doubtless are the volumes published by the New York Historical Society. Your wisdom in procuring a share in the publication fund of that Society

can not be questioned. The eight volumes, 1868–1876, (the volume for 1874 not yet published) are from original and mainly unpublished sources, inaccessible to the public. They cover the "Continuation of Chalmer's Political Annals," Governor Colden's letters reviewing and criticising Smith's History of the Colony of New York, documents relating to Governor Leisler's administration, "The Clarendon Papers," documents relating to the "New Hampshire Grants," now Vermont; Old New York and Trinity Church Papers of General Charles Lee, (3 volumes), correspondence of General Pattison, British governor of New York, 1779–80, and the Colden papers, 1760–5. To the general student these volumes are of great value aside from the many curious and strange things they contain relating to our early history. This publication fund share entitles you to all the works published from its income. You have been fortunate in receiving "The Whitney Family of Connecticut and its affiliations, an attempt to trace the descendants of Henry Whitney, of Connecticut, from 1649 to 1878," in three volumes, 4to. This is probably the most splendid and expensive genealogical history ever published in any country. The edition is but 500 copies, all for presentation, and for so generous a gift you are indebted to the author, S. Whitney Phœnix, of New York city.

Among the additions of the past year have been a fair share of useful and rare books, too many, to be even glanced at in this report. As a rule these are of a higher order and better adapted to the wants of a historical society than those received during the previous year. From one source you received over 200 volumes of United States and State public documents which are a mine for the future political student and statistician. The acquisition of a good library is a work of time, even where the books are purchased, and it is no cause for discouragement that your library is no larger or better. You have many reasons for gratification at your success. You still need the Utica directories for 1817, 1835, 1836, 1838, 1841.

Pamphlets.

Received during the past year, 298. Many of your rarest gifts have been in this modest, unobtrusive form. Ever since the discovery of printing a much larger proportion of valuable historical, political, scientific and theological matter has been given to the world in pamphlets and hidden, or become very rare, because of their liability to be lost or destroyed, than in bound books. You have many rare pamphlets, and when classified and arranged they will be sought for by students and the curious in the whole range

of literature. Of those received in the past year you are indebted to Charles L. Woodward, of New York, for more than 150, with some valuable books.

Newspapers and Periodicals.

Although the catalogue shows an increase of but 46 numbers in the past year it must not be inferred that the increase has been of but small value. Twenty-two yearly volumes (bound) of the *Tri-weekly National Intelligencer*, by Gales & Seaton, of Washington, are a bonanza of historical and political intelligence. They extend from January 1, 1839, to the close of 1865, (5 vols. missing). What the London *Times* is in England, so was the *National Intelligencer* during the lives of Gales & Seaton in the United States—conservative, careful and never partisan at the expense of truth or justice. You are to be congratulated upon their acquisition, which you owe to E. S. Brayton, of this city.

A few numbers of *The Club*, published by "Henry Goodfellow, Esq., & Company," an anonymous literary paper published in Utica in 1814, have been placed on your shelves. These numbers show that this was a respectable, carefully-printed periodical, filled mainly with original matter, and at least continued for several months. Yet it has seemed to pass entirely from the memory of the "oldest inhabitant."

A single number of the Whitestown *Gazette*, presented by B. Pratt Babcock, Esq., of Cayuga, Ill., a native of New Hartford, settles, forever, the question of the date of the first newspaper established in this State, west of Albany. This is No. 7, Vol. I, dated August 22, 1793, and was published by Richard Vanderburgh, "opposite the meeting-house in Whitestown." The good fortune through which this single paper was preserved and presented to this Society, also settles the question of priority between the Whitestown *Gazette* and the *Western Centinel*.

Manuscripts, Documents, Maps.

Of these, sixty-nine have been added in the past year. The undersigned has made considerable progress in arranging them in scrap-books, where they will be comparatively safe from the inroads of autograph collectors, and may be consulted and read. Some of these, and the largest and most valuable, especially those with the pendant great seals of this State attached, are very difficult of arrangement, and I would ask the best taste and skill of

the members of the Society to aid me in their proper disposition. Among the manuscripts are many of real historic interest, especially to this part of the State, while others are old, and others rank as curiosities. In the opinion of the undersigned, the most valuable original paper you possess, is a letter of two sheets, dated Washington, January 15, 1804, written by Hon. Samuel L. Mitchell, United States Senator from this State, giving, in his language, the "interior and confidential history" of the purchase of Louisiana, from France. In 1803, the United States purchased Louisiana from France, for $15,000,000. Lossing devotes fifteen lines to a history of the transaction, and other historians have been about as liberal. Robert R. Livingston, the distinguished revolutionary patriot, the friend of Robert Fulton, the patron of our culture and science, then United States Minister to France, made the purchase of Napoleon, as first Consul, and James Monroe, (afterwards president,) who arrived in France before the bargain was closed, and Talleyrand appear in the transaction. Most of the negotiations were oral, and few records were made or preserved. Napoleon wanted money and hated Great Britain. After the purchase was completed, he declared: "This accession of territory strengthens forever the power of the United States, and I have just given to England a maritime rival that will sooner or later humble her pride." As a valuable historical letter, I think it worthy of a place in the next volume of your transactions. This letter was presented by Henry Hurlburt of Utica.

The Vander Kemp, MSS. sermons, whether those in Dutch, delivered even an hundred years ago in Holland, or those in English, will sooner or later attract the attention of scholars and theologians. The large number of printed political addresses, handbills and circulars extending through the pre-partisan and federal and democratic-republican eras of our history, are rich in their exhibitions of the spirit, and spite of partisan politics of that period. The vulgar blackguardism and falsehoods vented upon John Adams, Jefferson, Hamilton and many other great and good men, and exhibited in some of these publications, would consign to disgrace and oblivion the utterers and authors of such things, if put forth at this day.

Relics.

The number in this class received in the past year is small, too small, and yet they are valuable. The mementoes and relics of great men, of great events, of battle-fields and historic localities,

the weapons, implements and ornaments of the Indians, although they may be of little intrinsic value, are really valuable, especially to a historical society. They contain and illustrate much of history, and need but the pens of ready writers to record that history. These things all have charms to attract the public to your association and its objects. These Indian relics are fast being gathered up by societies and individuals, and carried out of your limits, to enrich other cabinets and add interest to other societies. Primarily, they belong to you. We know that many historical documents of great value have been taken from this vicinity to historical societies in other cities, for no other reason than that no historical society existed on our field. The thirteen volumes of the original correspondence and papers of Baron Steuben, and many volumes of newspapers printed in the early days of Utica, and probably other things, were wisely given to the New York Historical Society many years ago, and before any one could have foreseen the existence of a historical society here. In modern times, many valuable papers have been taken from our field to Buffalo, Syracuse and other places. What more fitting than that your Society instead of the Buffalo Historical Society should have the papers of the late Henry R. Storrs, a man whose brilliant talents added so much and for so many years to the reputation of Oneida county, or that this Society and not the Buffalo and Syracuse societies should have the Vander Kemp correspondence and journals?

There is not a neighborhood, and in many sections scarcely a house in which there are not relics of our Indians, saying nothing with regard to those brought from distant tribes. Soon these relics of the "stone age," pre-historic relics, will have been gathered up and carried where money will not buy them. The collectors of these things are most persistent beggars, and, therefore, the members of this Society need have no fear of soiling their reputations by using all honorable means, short of petit larceny, in finding and securing anything and everything covered by the letter and spirit of your charter.

M. M. JONES,
Librarian.

Utica, January 13, 1880.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN, MADE TO THE SOCIETY JANUARY 6, 1881.

To the Oneida Historical Society at Utica:

The undersigned in compliance with Art. XII, of your constitution, would report that the growth of your library and collections has been uniform and steady during the past year, indicating that the Society has the confidence and respect of the community in which we are placed, and of its patrons throughout the State. Your success in securing from Congress the originally promised sum, with interest, for the erection of a monument to General Herkimer, your several publications and the handsome collection of books, manuscripts, relics, &c., all as donations, have given the Society a status as one of the permanent institutions of the kind in our State. One great draw back in securing valuable donations has been the fear that, like too many similar organizations, we would soon die out and our collections be sold by our creditors and again scattered. Your inability to contract debts beyond the means on hand, and the provision that in case of misfortune, articles donated belong and shall be returned to the donors, should inspire full confidence in all those having objects of interest appropriate to such a society.

The following are the numbers upon your catalogue:

1.	Bound books,	884
2.	Pamphlets,	705
3.	Relics, Works of Art, etc.,	202
4.	Manuscripts, Documents, Maps,	315
5.	Newspapers and Periodicals,	285
	Total,	2,391

The first three heads indicate the number of those articles upon your shelves. As to Nos. 4 and 5, a number may indicate a single manuscript, map, or newspaper, or a volume or a bundle—in some instances covering an hundred letters and valuable documents.

I must have more room as soon as your funds will allow, but in the meantime I promise to make room for the safe keeping of all donations.

Respectfully submitted,

M. M. JONES,

Utica, January 6, 1881. *Librarian.*

TREASURER'S REPORT.

1880, Jan. 10.	Cash on hand,	$119 37
	Received for dues,	200 00
		$319 37
	Expenses,	60 00
1881, Jan. 4.	Balance on hand,	$259 37

HERKIMER MONUMENT FUND.*

1880, Aug. 14.	Cash from United States Treasurer,	$4,100 00
1881, Jan. 3.	Paid Wm. Ringrose, for Monument Site,	387 00
	Balance on hand,	$3,713 00

R. S. WILLIAMS,
Treasurer.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE SOCIETY.

1. Memorial of the Celebration of the Centennial of the Battle of Oriskany: 1877.

2. Historical Fallacies Regarding Colonial New York. Annual Address before the Society, by Major Douglas Campbell: 1879.

3. The Men, Events, Lawyers, Politics and Politicians of Early Rome. Address before the Society, by D. E. Wager: 1879.

4. Articles of Incorporation, Constitution, By-Laws, Officers, Members and Donors of the Society, with Proceedings of Annual Meeting: 1879.

5. Early History of Oneida county. Annual Address before the Society, by William Tracy: 1880.

6. Transactions of the Oneida Historical Society, with Annual Address and Reports for 1881, the Paris Re-interment and Papers read before the Society: 1881.

* This is exclusive of individual subscriptions not yet paid to the Treasurer.

Papers and Addresses Read Before the Society, Since April, 1879.

9. May 8, 1879, Dr. Franklin B. Hough—"The Castorland Colony."

10. July 29, 1879, Dr. M. M. Bagg—"The Earliest Factories of Oneida and their Projectors."

11. September 23, 1879, Dr. F. H. Roof—"Johannes Rueff, a Pioneer of Oneida county."

12. November 11, 1879, Henry A. Homes—"Description and Analysis of the Massachusetts MSS., on the Removal of the Seneca Indians, in 1838, from New York to the West."

13. "The Pompey (N. Y.) Stone, with an Inscription and Date of A. D. 1520."

14. December 23, 1879, Daniel Batchelor—"The Civil, Moral and Social Condition of England and its People at the Commencement of the Reign of George III."

15. January 13, 1880, William Tracy—"Early History of Oneida county." Annual Address.

16. February 17, 1880, William H. Christian—"A Glance at the First Volunteers from Central New York, in the Early Days of the War of the Rebellion."

17. May 11, 1880, Samuel Earl—"The Palatines and their Settlement in the Valley of the Upper Mohawk."

18. July 13, 1880, Daniel E. Wager—"The Syracuse and Utica Railroad."

19. November 9, 1880, Samuel Earl—"Andrew A. Bartow and the Discovery of Water-Lime in this Country."

20. December 31, 1880, William J. Bacon—"The Continental Congress; Some of its Actors and their Doings, with the Results thereof." Annual Address.

21. March 2, 1881, Morven M. Jones—Letter of Dr. Samuel L. Mitchell, 1804, Relative to the Louisiana Purchase, with Biographical Sketch of its Writer.

DONORS SINCE APRIL 8, 1879.

Abbott, Henry G., Utica.
Alsop, George, Baltimore.
Arnold, Isaac N., Chicago.
American Numismatic Society.
Babcock, H. G., Little Falls.
Babcock, Mrs. Dr., New Hartford.
Babcock, B. Pratt, Cayuga, Ill.
Bachelor, Peter, Utica.
Bacon, Wm. J., Utica.
Bagg, M. D., Utica.
Barnard, Chas. E., Utica.
Bates, Comfort, Utica.
Benham, Thos. L., Utica.
Beach, Allen C., Albany.
Boardman, D. L., Troy.
Brayton, E. S., Utica.
Broadwell, Wm., Holland Patent.
Buell, A. B., Utica.
Buffalo Historical Society.
Calverly, Wm., Trenton.
Camp, Mrs. John, Utica.
Caton, John S., Ottawa, Ill.
Cayuga Historical Society, Auburn.
Coleman, Wm. B., Utica.
Cushman, J. B., Utica.
Conover, Geo. J., Geneva.
Cunningham, Wm., Utica.
Childs, J. M., Utica.
Darling, Chas. W., Utica.
Department of Interior, Washington.
Department of State, Washington.
DePeyster, J. Watts, New York.
Doolittle, Wm. S., Utica.
Earl, Samuel, Herkimer.
Earll, J. L., Utica.
England, Wm., Utica.
Evans, David J., Utica.
Farrier, Geo. H., Mem. of Paulus Hook.
French, Wm. M., New Hartford.
Goodwin, A. T., Utica.
Gardner, M. M., Utica.
Hartley, Isaac S., Utica.
Hastings, John C., Clinton.
Henshaw, Mrs. Jane, Utica.
Hodges, E. P., Utica.
Homes, H. A., Albany.
Hurlburt, Henry, Utica.
Hurlburt, F. W., Utica.
Hutchinson, C. W., Utica.
Ingersoll, F. D., Rome.
Jennings, Rev. Isaac, Bennington, Vt.
Jones, M. M., Utica.
Jordan, John, Philadelphia.
Kernan, Francis, Utica.
Kirkland, Wm., Utica.
Mack, R. C., Londonderry, N. H.
Merrill, Mrs. B. S., Utica.
Merwin, M. H., Utica.
Maryland Historical Society.
Middlebury Vt. Historical Society.
Miller, Henry S., Albany.
Minnesota Historical Society.
Monroe, J. D., Utica.
Morrill, W. M., New Hartford.
New York Historical Society.
New Jersey Historical Society.
Old Residents Historical Association, Lowell, Mass.
Pennsylvania Historical Society.
Phœnix, S. Whitney, New York.
Prescott, C. D., Rome.
Porter, Dr. H. N., N. Y. Mills.
Rhode Island Historical Society.
Richardson, Adams & Mann, Utica.
Richmond, A. G , Canajoharie.
Roof, Dr. F. H., Rhinebeck.
Rouse, Lorenzo, Marshall.
Richards, A. E., Florence, Italy.
Rogers, Henry C., Utica.
Seymour Horatio, Deerfield.
Seymour, Norman, Mt. Morris.
Simms, Jeptha R., Fort Plain.
Silsbee, Rev. Wm., Trenton.
Secretary of State, Albany.
Stafford, S. H., Oneida.
Stanton, Elias, Kirkland.
Shull, Josiah, Ilion.
Stevens, Mr., Lowville.
Searles, Jas. H., Rome.
Thompson, James, Utica.
Trenham, Mrs. Wm., New Hartford.
Telier, F. G., Rome.
Tourtellot, Dr. L. A., Utica.
Underdown, Wm., Philadelphia.
Vermont Historical Society.
Wager, Mrs. David, Utica.
Walker, George, Utica.
Ward, C. W., Rome.
Waterloo Historical Society.
Williams, Warren, Clinton.
Wisconsin Historical Society.
Watson, J. C., Clinton.
Weed, Jas. M., Utica.
Webster, P. G., Fort Plain.
Wright, Miss, Utica.
Wright, B. H., Rome.
Williams, R. G., Utica.
Wood, Leander S., N. Y. Mills.
Wood, Mrs. Delia M., Utica.
White, Philo, Whitesboro.
Williams, S. Wells, New Haven, Ct.
Williams, H. Dwight, Saratoga Springs.
Woodward, Chas. L., New York.
Wilson, James H., Utica.
Young, David S., Lee Centre.

RESIDENT MEMBERS.

ELECTED SINCE APRIL, 1879.

Ballou, Rev. Daniel, Utica.
Barber, A. D., Utica.
Broadwell, William, Trenton.
Broadwell, Henry, Trenton.
Calverly, William, Trenton.
Childs, J. Morris, Utica.
Cooke, Dr. L. Herbert, Utica.
Cooper, G. Edward, Utica.
Currie, Dean F., Clinton.
DeAngelis, Pascal C. J., Utica.
Edmunds, Henry, Utica.
Fort, William F., Utica.
Foster, Henry A., Rome.
Gardner, Rev. Chas. H., Utica.
*Gardner, Dr. M. M., Utica.
Hartley, Rev. I. S., Utica.
Mallory, Henry P., Utica.
McIntosh, A. J., Utica.
Miller, Addison C., Utica.
Mills, Albert M., Utica.
Pomeroy, Theodore, Utica.
Porter, Dr. H. N., N. Y. Mills.
*Rogers, Henry C., Utica.
Rowley, Warren C., Utica.
Sutton, Dr. R. E., Rome.
Sturges, Edward, Utica.
Towne, Chauncey, Utica.
Turnbull, James B., Utica.
Wardwell, F. W., Utica.
Watson, J. T., Clinton.
Wood, Leander S., N. Y. Mills.
Wilson, James H., Utica.

CORRESPONDING MEMBERS.

ELECTED SINCE APRIL, 1879.

Bagg, Charles S., Deer Lodge, N. Y.
Bennett, Alfred, Hannibal, Mo.
Bigelow, Horace, St. Paul, Minn.
Burt, Bradley B., Oswego, N. Y.
Curtis, George W., Nora, Ill.
Dakin, George W. B., Cherry Valley.
Flandrau, Hon. Charles E., St. Paul, Minn.
Griffith, John, Cleveland, O.
Guiteau, F. W., Irvington, N. Y.
Holden, Dr. A. W., Glens Falls, N. Y.
Hoyt, Joseph B., Cazenovia, N. Y.
Irwin, Theodore, Oswego, N. Y.
Lintner, Prof. J. E., Albany, N. Y.
Roof, Dr. F. H., Rhinebeck, N. Y.
Rogers, Gen. Horatio, Providence, R. I.
Sanborn, Rev. Jno. W., Perry, N. Y.
Seymour, Hon. Norman, Mt. Morris, N. Y.
Spencer, William A., St. Paul, Minn.
Throckmorton, B. W., New York.
Timmerman, Wm. S., St. Paul, Minn.
Taylor, James W., Winnipeg, Manitoba.
Wilcox, E. W., West Winfield, N. Y.
Wright, Hon. W. W., Geneva, N. Y.

HONORARY MEMBER.

T. Whitney Phœnix, New York.

*Deceased.

ACT OF NEW YORK LEGISLATURE IN RELATION TO HISTORICAL SOCIETIES.

CHAPTER 203, LAWS OF 1879.

An Act to authorize historical societies to hold real estate for preservation and monumental purposes, and to receive historical articles in trust. Passed April 19, 1879.

SECTION 1. Any historical society in this State is hereby authorized to have and hold for the purposes of inclosure, preservation and the erection of monuments, but under no circumstances for the purposes of business, the sites of old forts and battles, not to exceed six acres in one locality; and when such sites have been so appropriated and improved and used for such purposes only, they shall be exempt from taxation; and to receive donations of articles of historic interest on the condition that it shall not dispose of the same except with the consent of the donor; and that in case of its dissolution or inability to pay its debts otherwise than from its effects, the said articles shall revert to the donors or their heirs. But nothing herein contained shall be construed as authorizing the charge of any fee for the exhibition of such inclosure or structure by such historical society, or their agents.

SEC. 2. This Act shall take effect immediately.